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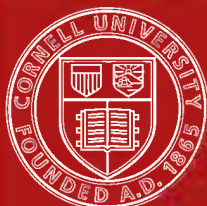
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The Bishops of Lindisfarne, Hexham,  
Chester-le-Street, and Durham



# The Bishops of Lindisfarne, Hexham, Chester-le-Street, and Durham

A.D. 635—1020

*Being an Introduction to the Ecclesiastical History of Northumbria*

BY

GEORGE MILES

Vicar of S. Augustine's, Newcastle-on-Tyne

LONDON

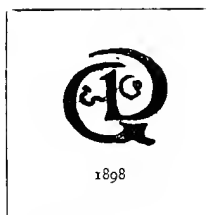
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RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,  
EDGAR,  
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LORD BISHOP OF NEWCASTLE,  
SUCCESSOR OF A  
LONG LINE OF SAINTED BISHOPS  
WHO HAVE GUIDED THE NORTHERN CHURCH  
IN UNBROKEN CONTINUITY  
FROM THE DAYS OF  
SAINT AIDAN, FIRST BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE.



## PREFACE

I BEGAN this work with the object of making a continuous History of the Northern Church, more especially the sees of Lindisfarne, Hexham, Chester-le-Street, and Durham. In the course of my labours I found that it might be wearisome to the reader to burden the "text" with matter which in my opinion was more suitable for footnotes. Lord Macaulay, I am aware, held a different opinion, and considered it a weakness for a writer to have recourse to notes. I should have had a much lighter task if I had considered his method the better.

The appendix, consisting of brief notices of the Popes of Rome, the Bishops and Archbishops of York, and the Archbishops of Canterbury, may be found useful for reference.

I have endeavoured to cite authorities, and though the number is legion I am perhaps unconsciously indebted to many others.

The particular form in which this work is written—Biographical as far as possible—has its advantages and disadvantages. “The history of the Church,” sainted Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln wrote, “is represented in certain respects by the history of her great men.” Carlyle considered Biography to be the most universally pleasant and profitable of all reading.

The notices of some of the episcopates in this volume are meagre. Fire, sword, pillage, and the destruction of valuable libraries and records by the “black heathen” and other invaders are the cause of this defect. If records of those terrible years had been written and preserved not only would it be found that Northumbria had furnished a goodly number of souls for the fair fellowship of martyrs, but that her history was as thrilling and exciting as that of any part of Christendom.

The Martyrologies or Menologies shew the mind of the Church as regards the form of historic records.

I issue my book with many misgivings, but I trust that it will lead to an increased study of Northumbrian Church History.

G. MILES.

*S. Augustine's Vicarage, Newcastle-on-Tyne,  
Easter 1898.*



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# THE BISHOPS OF LINDISFARNE

## INTRODUCTION

Lindisfarne and Bamburgh—Early missionaries—The episcopate during the Roman occupation—The first Christian Emperor and the British Church—The English conquest—Edwin and Paulinus—Oswald—The monasteries and culture—Relics—"Mythic period" of the Northumbrian Church—The fruits of miracles and legends.

LINDISFARNE, including the daughter sees, can justly claim a distinguished position amongst the dioceses of Britain. The civil history and traditions of York and Winchester may surpass those of Lindisfarne, for the former city was the residence of Roman emperors during their sojourn in Britain, and the latter was the residence of a long line of English kings, yet there is a peculiar fascination about the rude and rugged capital of Bernicia, Bamburgh, the stronghold of many Bretwaldas and Northumbrian princes, whilst the *ecclesiastical* traditions of the diocese ruled successively from Lindisfarne, Chester-le-Street, and Durham, are richer than any other. In the history of three hundred and eighty-five years covered by this volume (A.D. 635–1020)

an attempt will be made to record many great and useful works accomplished by men who regarded Lindisfarne as their *alma mater* and by the leading Churchmen of the North. The prominent civil affairs of Northumbria will also be briefly noted.

Aidan and his monks were not the first evangelists in Northumbria. Others preceded them, but their work was of a temporary character. There were Christians in the Roman cohorts in Northumbria, but whether they attempted to spread a knowledge of the Faith beyond their own ranks is uncertain. They endeavoured to teach the natives the art of agriculture, and some may, at the same time, have spoken of the Kingdom of Christ. The soldiers were drawn from all parts of the world. There were very few real Romans amongst them, for it was the rule to fight "barbarians" with "barbarian" aid. These "barbarian" soldiers were drawn from districts where the Cross had been planted, and where the blood of Christian martyrs had been shed, so that most likely there would be Christians in their ranks.

The Roman occupation of Britain came to an end in A.D. 446; a year earlier the garrisons were withdrawn from the North. It is interesting to note that during the Roman occupation, in A.D. 314, three British bishops attended a council at Arles in Gaul. They were bishops of the three civil divisions of Roman Britain—*Maxima Caesariensis*, *Britannia Prima*, and

*Britannia Secunda.* The bishops were attended by *Sacerdos* (a priest) and Arminius. This proves that in the diocese, first of all ruled from York, there was a properly-organised Church with apostolic orders and of orthodox doctrine. There was frequent communication between York and Corbridge, and as the latter was a place of great importance, being one-third the size of York, it can safely be asserted that the Gospel of Christ was preached on the banks of the Tyne, and that the Sacraments were celebrated there. Some years ago a curious relic was found at Colchester, close to Corbridge. It was a silver basin with a design repeated round the brim which some antiquaries recognised as the sacred monogram of the Labarum, and concluded that it had been used by a Christian priest as a *lavabo*. Others have pronounced it to be a Roman sacrificing dish.

Further, in July 306 Constantius died at York, where, in the presence of his sons, he declared Constantine his successor. He was there declared Emperor. Constantine never lost interest in the British Church. He gained his great victory under the walls of Rome in October 312. As the first Christian Emperor he summoned a General Council to deal with the Arian heresy. Although the names of British bishops as being present at the Council cannot be given, they were informed of its decisions, and in a letter to Constantine they signified their agreement. This fact

is also of importance in the history of the Northern Church—it proves that there was an episcopate in the island, that the clergy were on terms of intimacy with the Emperor, and that the doctrine was in accord with other parts of Christendom.

The English conquest and settlement had a most disastrous effect on the Church in Britain. Priests were slain, altars were desecrated, churches were destroyed, and at last, after nearly two hundred years' persecution and a policy of extermination, the Britons with their bishops fled to the West. Thadioc, Bishop of York, held his see until all was lost, and then he also retired before the invaders.

When Edwin, King of Bernicia and Deira, sought the hand of Ethelburga, a Kentish princess, and was refused because he was a heathen, he promised her the free exercise of her religion, also that he would listen to the teaching of the new Faith, and if it commended itself to him to embrace it.

Eadbald, King of Kent, consented to the arrangement, and Ethelburga became Edwin's second wife. Paulinus was consecrated bishop by Justus, Archbishop of Canterbury, "in order that he might be to Ethelburga in her northern home what Luidhard had been to her mother in the still heathen Kent" (*Dr. Bright*). In time Edwin was convinced and baptised. Paulinus in addition to his duties as chaplain undertook missionary work. To this day many places where he



baptised converts bear his name. Paulinus laboured for five or six years in Bernicia and Deira, and when Edwin was slain at Hatfield by the heathen king Penda, who did his best to exterminate Church and people, Paulinus with Ethelburga returned by sea to Kent. He left James the Deacon, or the Chantor, to carry on his work as far as possible. Paulinus did not return to the North but became Bishop of Rochester. He did not possess the admirable characteristics of his deacon. His system, too, was faulty. There was no consolidation in his work. After converting and baptising large numbers he failed to leave behind him capable men to "feed the flock of God." The "Apostleship of Northumbria" has been claimed for him as the labourer who laid the foundation upon which Aidan afterwards built. Paulinus' fitful and spasmodic methods debar him of that honour. James the Deacon confined his labours to the banks of the Swale.

A few years after the departure of Paulinus, by Oswald's victory at Heavenfield, Northumbria was again ruled by a Christian king, and from that time there has been an unbroken succession of bishops, priests, and deacons, notwithstanding monarchical changes, savage persecutions, spiritual decay, and civil and ecclesiastical feuds which have convulsed the country from time to time.

The establishment of monasteries in Northumbria opens an important era in the civilisation and culture

of the North. The monks transformed many of its social customs and raised it to an enviable position in the intellectual world. At the commencement of this period their buildings were of wattles and clay, before its close they boasted of the finest churches this side of the Alps. Not only in their stone buildings have the monks left records of progress, but their illuminated manuscripts, sculptured crosses, metal work, literature—poetry and prose, bear witness to their artistic taste, skill, and learning. These monuments of culture are valuable records of the customs of the times, as frequent references in the following pages will prove.

The communications between Northumbria and the Continent were undoubtedly advantageous to the Northern Church, after making allowance for Wilfrid's hysterical appeal to the Pope and the introduction of superstitious practices. Even the traffic in relics had a civilising influence, for a knowledge of the lives of the saints, possibly with many exaggerations, and a knowledge of the countries whence they were brought, was spread afar.

The Northumbrian Church had its "mythic period." Some of its legends are deliberate forgeries though made with the best and most pious intention. "To deceive into Christianity," says Milman, speaking of Christian legends generally, "was so valuable a service as to hallow deceit itself. But the largest portion was probably the natural birth of that imaginative excite-

ment which quickens its day dreams and nightly visions into reality. The Christian lived in a supernatural world: the notion of the Divine power, the perpetual interference of the Deity, the agency of the countless invisible beings which hovered over mankind, was so strongly impressed upon the belief that every extraordinary, and almost every ordinary, incident became a miracle, every inward emotion a suggestion either of a good or an evil spirit. A mythic period was thus gradually formed, in which reality melted into fable and invention unconsciously trespassed on the province of history." The multiplication of legends is due to the emulation of monkish biographers, many of whom were not only credulous but also unscrupulous. Their object was the glorification of a diocese or of a particular church. It is almost superfluous to state that some of the miracles were recorded years after they were alleged to have been performed! The biographers depended, to a great extent, on traditional stories, which passed from lip to lip and grew as they travelled. Traditions were confused and the same miracles are attributed to different men. This is not surprising in an age when almost every itinerant monk had his tale of wonder, and when almost every biographer embellished his work with marvels which had been ascribed to others. Even the miracles recorded in the Old and New Testaments were claimed for patron saints by ardent and unscrupulous writers intent

on the glorification of the subjects of their memoirs. In the life of Benedict of Nursia some of his reputed miracles are literally taken from the narrative of Elijah and Elisha. The Scriptures have likewise been ransacked in behalf of North-country saints. Most of the miracles ascribed to S. Cuthbert bear an affinity to anterior or contemporary records. The resemblance between North-country and Irish miracles may be accounted for by the frequent visits of the brethren to each other and to the stories of wandering bishops. The life of S. Moling, who died between 689 and 696, may serve as an illustration. Many of his miracles are like S. Cuthbert's, *e. g.* his prognostications, visions, and presentiments, his fondness for and subjection of the lower animals, the lost Book of the sacred writings recovered from the sea uninjured, etc.

Many "miracles" can be accounted for without any supernatural intervention. Scientific knowledge has completely shattered credulous and fairy-like stories which were regarded with reverence for centuries. Nevertheless they did a great work. They inspired men and women and moved them to become self-denying and generous. Not a few churches owe their origin to myths and many souls owe their conversion to them. The stigmata of S. Francis were for long regarded as the sign of God's especial favour; they made him a hero, drew men to his Order and made them noble and heroic workers. Most physicians now-

a-days have seen cases of the same category, and explain the peculiarity on distinctly physical grounds. The "miracles" of S. Cuthbert may be easily explained and "witnessed." Men of no special saintliness have done the same things. S. Cuthbert's geese still allow visitors to Lindisfarne to caress them, and otters are as affectionate in Northumberland to-day as of yore. But Cuthbert's reputed miracles, his incorruptibility, and his undoubted sanctity effected great things in the North. The stately pile of Durham Cathedral, the wealthy endowments of the see, the quondam treasures and magnificent shrines, the impetus to religion, and the heroic examples of self-sacrifice are due to his renown.



## THE BISHOPS OF LINDISFARNE

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|          |     |            |           |           |         |     |            |     |
|----------|-----|------------|-----------|-----------|---------|-----|------------|-----|
| AIDAN    | ... | 634 or 635 | ETHELWOLD | ...       | ...     | 724 |            |     |
| FINAN    | ... | 651 or 652 | CYNEWULF  | ...       | ...     | 740 |            |     |
| COLMAN   | ... | ...        | 661       | HIGBALD   | ...     | ... | 780        |     |
| TUDA     | ... | ...        | ...       | 664       | EGBERT  | ... | ...        | 803 |
| *        |     |            |           | HEATHORED | ...     | ... | 821        |     |
| EATA     | ... | ...        | ...       | 678       | EGRED   | ... | 830 or 831 |     |
| CUTHBERT | ... | ...        | ...       | 685       | EANBERT | ... | 845 or 846 |     |
| EADBERT  | ... | ...        | ...       | 688       | EARDULF | ... | ...        | 854 |
| EADFRID  | ... | ...        | ...       | 698       |         |     |            |     |

“A place most holy, abundantly enriched with the prayers of many saints, but now miserably wasted by Pagans. . . . See the church of St. Cuthbert sprinkled with the blood of the Saints of God, spoiled of all its adornments—the most venerable place in Britain given up to be the spoil of the heathen.”—Alcuin’s *Letters*.

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\* The Life of Wilfrid is here inserted in order to preserve the continuity of narrative.





## AIDAN, 634 OR 635

Aidan enters Iona—Oswald—Battle of Heavenfield—Corman—Aidan consecrated bishop and sent into Bernicia—The Island and Monastery of Lindisfarne—Aidan's school—Aidan the Apostle of England—Work at Lindisfarne—Church and State—Aidan's love of solitude—At court—His work and mode of life—The teaching of the Irish clergy—Bede's portrait of the converted Bernicians—Oswald's good works—"Fair-hand"—Aidan founds other religious houses—Irish missionary zeal—Oswald visits the King of Wessex—Oswald slain at Maserfield—Oswald's remains—Miracles—Oswy—Penda besieges Bamburgh—Oswin murdered—Death of Aidan (651)—Cuthbert's vision of Aidan's soul—Burial of Aidan—The ruins of Lindisfarne.

S. AIDAN, a man of saintly, zealous, prudent, and heroic life, was the first and greatest Bishop of Lindisfarne. Little is known of his childhood. A glimpse of his youth or early manhood is found in the *Life of S. Columba*, which refers to Aidan's reception into the community of Hy (Iona), the mother of Lindisfarne. On a certain Wednesday, we are told, a young man of comely appearance and gentle manners reached the Island of Saints, after a stormy and perilous voyage, and at once sought the presence of Columba, the chief of that little colony of monks, prostrated himself,

craved the good man's blessing, and humbly desired to be admitted into the community, and he was duly received.

At Iona a friendship sprang up between Aidan and Oswald, son of Ethelfrid, the late King of Bernicia and Deira, who had been sent by Donald IV., King of the Picts, to whose court he and his brothers fled after the victory of Redwald, King of the South Saxons—to be baptised and brought up in the Christian Faith.

Fergna was Abbot of Hy when Oswald arrived, and he placed him under the care of Aidan, who acted as his instructor, not only in faith and morals, but also in secular studies. Aidan soon discovered Oswald's aspirations after the recovery of his kingdom—his elder brother, Eanfrid the apostate, had been slain by Cadwallon,—and he (Aidan) laboured assiduously to make him a good soldier of Christ, so that if, in God's good providence, he ever attained his hopes and rights he might be serviceable in the propagation of the Faith amongst his subjects.

The time came at length. Oswald, grown to manhood, marched with a small force into Bernicia to meet Cadwallon, the Welsh pagan, who was encamped on the heights overlooking the Tyne in the neighbourhood of Hexham. Oswald had entered Bernicia trusting in the help of God. He received an assurance of this in a dream in which the blessed Columba appeared to him and promised him victory. Oswald on his part made

a vow that if he gained his father's throne he would do his utmost for the conversion of the people.

Before the battle a cross<sup>1</sup> was erected on the field, and Oswald called upon his followers to bend their knees, and with one voice beseech the Lord Almighty, the Living and the True, to defend them by His mercy from their fierce and proud enemy, for He knew that they had undertaken a just war. After prayer, as the day dawned, they joined battle with their enemies.

Cadwallon had an immense force, which he boasted to be irresistible. He was at a disadvantage so far as the ground was concerned, whereas Oswald and his small army had chosen a good position, protected on the north and west by steep, rocky banks, and on the south

<sup>1</sup> The Cross of S. Oswald afterwards became famous, and an object of veneration. It was supposed to possess healing virtues. Bede says that to his day the sick steeped little chips off the cross, and drank or sprinkled the water, and so recovered their health. The water in which the chips had been steeped was frequently sent to distant countries for healing purposes (*cf.* alleged miraculous effects of water in which Acca's bones had been steeped). An illustration of the mode of extending the "influence" of relics, or of multiplying them, is seen in the ancient practice of powdering them with gum, and pouring oil over them, as a means of conveying the mysterious virtues of the relics themselves (*cf.* Neale's *Eastern Church*). The blood of S. Thomas à Becket was endlessly diluted and kept in innumerable vials to be distributed to pilgrims; and thus, as the palm was a sign of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and a scallop-shell as the pilgrimage to Compostella, so a leaden vial or bottle suspended from the neck became the mark of a pilgrimage to Canterbury (Dean Stanley's *Hist. Memorials of Cant.* p. 98). In some cases flowers grown beside an altar where relics were deposited were supposed to work miracles. S. Gregory of Tours says that the flowers taken from trees planted before the altar of S. Eulalia at Menda in Spain were carried to the sick, and wrought miracles.

by a barrier left by the Romans. Cadwallon was utterly routed and fled southwards, followed by Oswald's victorious soldiers, who caught him and slew him at Deniseburn (Rowley Burn), a tributary of the Devil's Water.

This important battle (635) was called the Battle of Heavenfelth (Heaven's Field), and in later times the field became a place of devotion. S. Oswald's chapel was built upon the spot where the banner-cross had been erected by the King, and the monks of Hexham used to go on the day before the anniversary of Oswald's death, to spend the night in prayer, and to recite the office with many psalms, "*pro salute animae ejus.*" The next day they offered the holy oblation. The monks of Durham kept his memory green by their processions three times a year, in which they carried a figure of the King in silver gilt, and on one side of their conventual seal was a representation of the King's head.

To return. Oswald, having gained his kingdom, and driven out or subdued the pagans, remembered his vow and sent to his old home, Iona, for missionaries to teach his subjects the Christian Faith. Iona cheerfully responded to his appeal, and sent Cormán,<sup>1</sup> who found the people so stubborn, independent, and indifferent, that he lost heart and returned to Iona in despair.

<sup>1</sup> Cormán's name rests upon the authority of Hector Boëthius (lib. ix.). Oswald asked for a bishop, and a bishop was sent. He was prior to Aidan, though his name does not appear as first Bishop of Lindisfarne.

When Corman related his failure to the brethren S. Aidan was amongst them, and gently rebuked him: "It seems to me, brother, that you have been harder than was meet with your ignorant hearers, and have not, according to the teaching of the Apostles, offered them first the milk of gentle teaching, till, being gradually nourished by the Divine Word, they had become capable of receiving more perfect instruction, and of fulfilling the higher precepts of God." Aidan's speech decided the future. The brethren knew that he was the best man for the work, and it was quickly agreed that the mission should not be abandoned, but that Aidan should be ordained for the work.<sup>1</sup> Un-

<sup>1</sup> It will be frequently noticed that in the early ages, bishops, of whom we now speak as being "consecrated," were frequently spoken of as being "ordained." Aidan was "ordained" and sent to preach (*sique illum ordinantes ad prædicandum miserunt*). Deacons and priests were also referred to as having been "consecrated." Bede and many other doctors of the Church have used both terms. Aidan was raised to the episcopate before being sent to Lindisfarne, over which he ruled as Abbot-Bishop. In Celtic Churches the monastic bishop was under jurisdiction of the abbot (*ordo inusitatus*, Bede, iii. 4), who took precedence in matters connected with the monastery, but in spiritual matters the bishop was of higher power. Columba himself was never raised to the episcopate though he was head of Hy. Yet he always regarded a bishop of higher spiritual power than himself, and entitled to precedence, *e.g.* when a strange bishop from the province of Munster, "who from feelings of humility did all in his power to conceal his rank so that no person might know that he was a bishop," was about to celebrate the Divine Mysteries, Columba addressed him: "The blessing of Christ be on thee, brother; break thou this bread by thyself alone, as it is meet for a bishop to do. For now know we that thou art a bishop; why then hast thou thus far attempted to disguise thyself that we should not render thee the veneration due to thine office?" (*Adamnan's Life of S. Columba*, i. 26).

doubtedly there were many difficulties, yet few missions had better auspices, for the King was ready to help and to further the work by every possible means. A patient, persevering and prudent evangelist, who would not look for immediate results, but be content to sow that others might reap, was needed for the undertaking, and S. Aidan was unquestionably the right man for the work. His discretion, tact, patience, and resoluteness proved that the choice was a wise one. Cormán's retreat, therefore, proved to be a good thing for the Church.

The conduct of the Community of Iona with regard to Cormán is a great contrast with that of S. Gregory with respect to Augustine of Canterbury, who lost heart when he heard of the savage manners of the Saxons, and returned to Rome to be released from his enterprise. The Blessed Gregory was not the man to accept excuses or to send substitutes, for being of noble and heroic spirit himself, he desired his disciples and followers to be the same. Through his firmness the Roman mission to Kent was not abandoned. Still, amongst many who have turned back from arduous duties and perils may be found the names of great and earnest men. S. Mark the Evangelist left S. Paul at Perga in Pamphilia and returned to Jerusalem; Theonus, the last British Bishop (erroneously called Archbishop) of London, lost heart and fled; Mellitus also fled from London, and Justus from Rochester,

believing that it was better to return to their own country, where they could serve God in peace and quietness, rather than remain amongst apostate barbarians; S. Palladius conducted an apparently unsuccessful mission to Ireland, was unable to remain in the country, and died on his way back to Rome; S. Willebrord quitted Heligoland in despair; S. Milles, Bishop of Susa, found the people of the city so incorrigible, and his presence the cause of so much dissension that he left and denounced Divine vengeance upon it; the holy Wigbert left Friesland after working there two years without any prospect of success; Friedrich, a Saxon prelate, after five years' opposition by the Scalds (pagan minstrels) gave up his work in Iceland in despair; and the great Francis Xavier, thinking it impossible to make converts in India, left the country in disgust. Time would fail to tell of others. Yet men love to dwell upon the work of those who amid many discouragements have toiled on, like James the Deacon, who remained amongst the Northumbrians after Paulinus had hurried away with the Church treasures and Queen Ethelburga and her children into Kent.

To return to S. Aidan. He received a hearty welcome on his arrival in Bernicia from his old friend and pupil, King Oswald.

The Bishop began his work in down-right earnest. Close by the King's residence was a small island, which

the King gladly assigned to Aidan and his community. The Celtic monks preferred islands over which, if possible, they had exclusive rights, and large enough to provide them with food for themselves, pasturage for their cattle, and were close to the mainland.<sup>1</sup> Monks became deeply attached to their island homes, and memories fondly clustered around those sacred spots where their golden days were spent. The sons of Iona, of Lindisfarne, of Lerins, and of a thousand other seagirt "cities" tell the same story. To leave them was a severe trial to many, though they bravely responded to the call of duty and the commands of their superiors to start new missions or to undertake special work in the Church, or in their last hours when taking farewell of the brethren. The apostrophe of S. Cæsarius to Lerins typically expresses their feelings and emotions :

"O happy isle, O blessed solitude, in which the majesty of our Redeemer makes every day new conquests and where such victories are won over Satan! Thrice happy isle, which little as she is produces so numerous an offspring for heaven! It is she who nourishes all those illustrious monks who are sent into all the provinces as bishops. When they arrive they are children, when they go out they are fathers. She receives them in the condition of recruits, she makes them kings. She teaches all her happy inhabitants to fly towards the sublime heights of Christ upon the wings of humility and charity. That tender and noble mother, that nurse of good men, opened her arms to one love : but while so many

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<sup>1</sup> Another reason for settling at Lindisfarne has been given, viz. that Aidan and his Celtic monks determined to hold aloof from the Roman missionaries (*cf.* Hook's *Lives Abps. Cant.*). This is improbable.



others owe heaven to her teaching, the hardness of my heart has prevented her from accomplishing her task in me" (quoted in Montalembert's *Monks of the West*).

S. Aidan's first work on taking possession of Lindisfarne would be to build a "city," i.e. a monastery. This "city" would most probably be built after the style of Iona, for the Celtic monks were very conservative, and "swore" by Columba and Iona. It may not be out of place to give a short description of a Celtic monastery, which represented a village consisting of huts of wicker-work and clay. The abbot's cell was built on an eminence as a mark of respect. Apart from this were the cells of the brethren, and close by the church with its "side-house" or sacristy, the refectory, the library; then guest chambers, and outside the enclosure, cow-byre, mill, granary and outhouses. The ecclesiastical cities were surrounded by ramparts which served as boundary lines, and also for protection against enemies and wild beasts. In this they followed an old custom of surrounding the home of every chieftain's family with a similar defence (cf. *Insula SS. et D.* p. 94). Harbour provision was also made for craft.

Aidan formed a "school" in his monastery, and received lads to be educated, some of whom he had redeemed from slavery. He was wise and far-seeing in adopting a custom long practised in the Church in different parts of the world. From the days of

Constantine great pains had been taken to establish schools in the provinces, especially by bishops like Anschar, who founded the first Christian school on the barbarian shores of Schleswig in order that he might train Danish lads purchased from the savage population, and Gregory the Great, who is recorded to have directed a priest named Candidus, manager of the papal patrimony in Gaul, to buy English lads of seventeen or eighteen to be educated as missionaries to work amongst their own countrymen.<sup>1</sup> The number of lads in these schools was sometimes restricted to twelve, as at Lindisfarne. It must have been a source of great happiness to the devoted monks to watch the growth and development of spiritual power in their young disciples as it is to watch the opening of some choice bud in the beautiful spring-time. Some of Aidan's scholars became famous in the Church, especially Chad, Cedda, Eata, and Boisil. Heieu received her habit from Aidan.<sup>2</sup>

It is customary to speak of S. Aidan as "the True

<sup>1</sup> He was afterwards compelled to think of a more expeditious way (cf. Soames' *A.-S. Ch.* p. 50).

<sup>2</sup> HEIEU was the first Northumbrian woman who received the monastic habit, and she received it from S. Aidan's own hands. She is sometimes confounded with S. Hilda. Mr. Boyle in his account of Monkwearmouth says—"An entirely apocryphal *Life of S. Bega* confounds S. Hilda with S. Heieu, the foundress of Herteu (Hartlepool), and makes her the foundress of a religious house on the north side of the Wear. This is purely mythical." Bede writes—"After this she (Hilda) was made abbess in the monastery Heriteu, which monastery had been founded not long before by the religious servant of Christ, Heieu."

Apostle of England.”<sup>1</sup> If contrasted with S. Augustine of Canterbury, this may be correct, for the work of the Celtic mission was more enduring, more wide-spreading, than the Roman. But neither S. Augustine nor S. Aidan worked on virgin soil—missionaries preceded them, though the records of their work are meagre, and to some extent fabulous: in Northumbria S. Paulinus and the faithful and courageous James the Deacon; and in Kent the mysterious Luidhard,<sup>2</sup> and wandering Gallican bishops. It was the same in the case of S. Columba—others had worked before him in that part of “Scotland,” and amongst them S. Ninian, S. Palladius (with his fellow-labourers, S. Ternan and S. Serf), S. Mungo (or Kentigern), and others, many of

<sup>1</sup> “The Mission of St. Augustine was comparatively sterile in England, whether we regard extent of space or duration of time. Truth requires us to declare that S. Augustine from Italy ought not to be called the Apostle of England, much less the Apostle of Scotland, but the title ought to be given to S. Columba and his followers from Iona. Aidan and Finan were much more the founders of the Church of England than Augustine and Paulinus” (Bp. Chr. Wordsworth, *Church Hist.* p. 75).

<sup>2</sup> Theonus, a British bishop said to have retired into Wales (Hole). The date of his flight is said to be 586. It is probable that this is about the date of Ethelbert’s vigorous action northwards, by which he made himself over-lord of his East Saxon neighbours and of London, their most recent conquest, which they appear not to have occupied for some years after its fall. The political and administrative changes due to the expansion of the power of Kent may well have made ruined London no longer a possible place of residence, and of work, for a Christian Briton so prominent in position and office as the Bishop of London must always have been. It seems probable that Matthew of Westminster was not far wrong when he wrote that in 586 Theonus took with him the relics of the saints, and such of the ordained clergy as had survived the perils, and retired to Wales (*Christian Church in these Islands*, pp. 98, 99).

whom fled to Mona and Albania (the Isle of Man and the southern part of Scotland) during the Diocletian persecution; but Columba and his monks did the greatest work. In like manner S. Patrick is called the Apostle of Ireland although others laboured there long before his birth.

S. Aidan's work at Lindisfarne would most probably be moulded on the discipline and practice of the mother-house of Iona—a round of work, study, and prayer, with frequent journeys to the mainland for the purpose of evangelisation.

A pleasing picture is that of S. Aidan in his white tunic, over which was thrown a rough mantle and hood of wool of the natural colour,<sup>1</sup> preaching to the Northumbrians in the presence of the King who acted as interpreter—a good picture for an artist—"Church and State." The Venerable Bede tells us that—

"The King listened gladly and humbly to the admonitions of the Bishop in all things, and with great diligence took measures for building up and extending the Church of Christ in his kingdom; and the fair sight might often be seen of the prelate, who had but an imperfect knowledge of English, preaching in his own tongue, and the King, who in his long exile had perfectly learned the language of the Scots, explaining the heavenly Word to his officers

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<sup>1</sup> The dress of the Columban monks consisted of a white tunic, over which was worn a rough mantle and hood of wool of the natural colour, and sandals which they took off at meals (Dr. Boyd). The Ven. Bede informs us in his *Life of S. Cuthbert* (c. 16) that they wore ordinary clothes (*vestimentis communibus*) neither splendid nor dirty and that after his example the monks of his monastery continued to wear garments of undyed wool (Cheetham).

and servants. Thenceforward every day numbers of the Scots began to come into Britain, and to preach the word of faith with great devotion, and, as many as were graced with the priestly function, to minister the grace of baptism in the provinces over which King Oswald ruled. Churches were everywhere built, and multitudes gladly flocked to hear the word: endowments were granted by the munificence of the King; and the children of the English, along with their elders, were instructed by their Scottish teachers in the precepts and observances of monastic discipline."

The story of King Oswald and Aidan in this work has a parallel in the life of one of the first of Icelandic Christians, Thorwald Kodransson,<sup>1</sup> who after travelling in Saxony and making friends with the Bishop, Friedrich, was baptised by him; and whom he persuaded to return to Iceland in order to preach to his people. The Bishop preached in German, and Thorwald turned all his words into Icelandic. Their labours, however, were not very successful, and the Bishop, like Corman, Aidan's predecessor, returned home dispirited, and Thorwald, after making a pilgrimage to

<sup>1</sup> Thorwald the Far-farer, about 981. Iceland is supposed to have been discovered by Irish monks in the ninth century, when their own land was ravaged by the Northmen, and they left Iceland on the same account. Another link between the British and the Icelandic Church is found in S. Thorlak, Bishop, who "fared to England, and was at Lincoln, and there he received much instruction, and benefited both himself and others; and he gained there much good to share with others in his teaching, since he had hardly been before so well prepared as now." . . . Thorlak devoted himself to widespread learning, and humility, and many good customs which he had seen in his journey amongst many good men, bishops and other learned men and counselors with whom he had come in contact, who from the beginning had supported God's Christianity, and afterwards increased it (pp. 83, 84, *Translation of Biskupa Sögur*).

Jerusalem, entered a Russian monastery, where he died.

When Aidan had mastered the language, to which he was at first a stranger, he visited the houses and hamlets on the mainland, teaching the people the truths of religion. Some idea of the teaching of the Irish clergy in these early times may be gathered from a sermon of S. Gall, still extant :

“ He set forth before his hearers the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise, adding many exhortations to seek a heavenly inheritance. He recounted the righteousness of Noah, the faith of Abraham, the examples of the patriarchs, and the miracles of Moses, applying them all with a view to the welfare of souls. He drew a comparison between the fortitude of kings and that of the champions of Christian warfare who, clothed in the armour of Christ, wage an unceasing contest with vice. He showed how the visions of the prophets were applied by them to the correction of morals and the confirming of faith. Passing on to the mysteries of the Old Testament he came to the joyful tidings of the mercy of Christ, his language rising in sublimity as he felt the greatness of his theme. As he then descanted on the miracles of the Gospel and the mysteries of the Passion and Resurrection, his glowing eloquence overcame his hearers ; they burst into tears, and an eager longing for heaven filled their hearts.”

Although S. Aidan failed not in his duty towards the King and his people—he was always ready to serve them—he loved retirement and solitude. A frequent guest at court and a staunch friend of the King, yet he knew that retirement was more suitable to progress in the spiritual life. Like S. Columbanus, who had a loving friend in Clotaire, with whom he sometimes

resided amid the pomp of the Merovingian palace, he loved solitude best. Aidan, after dining at court, would hasten back to study and prayer. In these duties Aidan was most systematic. At times he would separate himself altogether from his brethren and visit Farne island, about two miles from the royal city of Bamburgh, a spot more especially associated with the names of SS. Cuthbert, Felgeld, Bartholomew, Elwin, and other anchorites, for devotional exercises.

The proximity of Lindisfarne to Bamburgh, the frequent visits of the brethren to the court and their influence with the King, were important and advantageous in Church work generally. The Druids had for long resided at the residences of kings, and exercised great power in national affairs. They "taught the youth astronomy, and much about the nature of things and the immortal gods." Why should not Christian priests supplant them?—and having obtained the favour and support of princes, convert them? It is remarkable that the recorded "collisions" between Druidism and Christianity are very few. The Christians at times displayed great tact in dealing with the Druids, for instead of totally demolishing their "sacred" places they pursued the far more prudent course of taking possession of them. This practice had been recommended by many wise and prudent Churchmen. S. Gregory directed the attention of Augustine of Canterbury to the same principle with respect to the temples of the Roman

deities which had been most successful in the city of Rome itself.

Another advantage of being connected with the court was the influence to be gained over the people. The Irish monks generally endeavoured to convert the clan or sept through the example of the chief. The conversion of Ireland and the growth of monasticism was due in a great measure to the reorganisation of the clan or sept on a religious footing (*"Ireland," Story of the Nations*, 39-41). The same course seems to have been adopted by pagan missionaries. The Mahometans also tried to convert princes before the people. The Bulgarian Mahometans were the first to send ambassadors to Vladimir with the offer of their Faith (Muravieff, *Hist. Russian Ch.* p. 11).

S. Aidan was "fruitful in good works." His whole life was a sweet oblation to God. His disciples and biographers have loved to dwell upon his loving deeds and wise words. God was glorified in His saint. "It was the highest commendation of his doctrine," says Bede (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 5), "with all men, that he taught no otherwise than he and his followers had lived; for he neither sought nor loved anything of this world, but delighted in distributing immediately among the poor whatsoever was given him by the kings or rich men of the world. He was wont to traverse both town and country on foot, never on horseback unless compelled by some urgent necessity; and wherever in his



way he saw any, either rich or poor, he invited them, if infidels, to embrace the mystery of the Faith ; or if they were believers to strengthen them in the Faith, and to stir them up by words and actions to alms and good works. His course of life was so different from the slothfulness of our times, that all those who bore him company, whether they were shorn monks or laymen, were employed in meditation, that is, either in reading the Scriptures or learning psalms. This was the daily employment of himself and all that were with him wheresoever they went ; and if it happened, which was but seldom, that he was invited to eat with the King, he went with one or two clerks, and having taken a small repast, made haste to be gone with them, either to read or write. At that time many religious men and women, stirred up by his example, adopted the custom of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays till the ninth hour throughout the year, except during the fifty days after Easter. He never gave money to the powerful men of the world, but only meat, if he happened to entertain them ; and, on the contrary, whatsoever gifts of money he received from the rich, he either distributed them, as has been said, to the use of the poor, or bestowed them in ransoming such as had been wrongfully sold for slaves. Moreover he afterwards made many of those he had ransomed his disciples, and after having taught and instructed them, advanced them to the order of priesthood."

Bede also gives a portrait of the people after their conversion :

“ Whenever a clergyman or monk came, he was received by all with joy as a servant of God ; and when any one was travelling on his way they would run up to him and bowing down would be glad to be signed by his hand or blessed by his prayer. They gave diligent attention to the words of exhortation which they heard from him, and on Sundays flocked with great eagerness to the churches or monasteries to hear the Word of God. If any priest happened to come into a village, the inhabitants presently gathering together were solicitous to hear from him the words of life ; nor did the priests or other ecclesiastics frequent the villages on any other account than to preach, visit the sick, and take care of souls ; and so free were they from any degree of the bane of avarice, that no one would receive lands or possessions for building monasteries unless compelled to it by the secular power” (Bede, *E. H.* iii. c. 26).

King Oswald caught the spirit of S. Aidan, and his faith was demonstrated in good works. On a certain Easter Day, when a rich repast was set before the King, and which had just been blessed by Aidan, his almoner announced a crowd of beggars from all parts who were asking alms. Oswald immediately commanded them to carry out to the poor the meat that had been set before him, and cut in pieces the silver dish and divide it among them. Aidan seized the King’s hand with joy, and exclaimed, “ May this hand never grow old ! ” Nor did it see corruption, for after being severed from his body by his cruel vanquisher, it was placed in a silver shrine in the church at Bamburgh. This right hand of Oswald was known to the Celts as “ Oswald-Fairhand ”

(Llanguryn, or Lamngwyn = Whitehand), because it had been specially blessed by Bishop Aidan.

There is a similar story told in the *Life of S. Benedict* respecting a hermit at Sublacus on the feast of Easter, 427. Nor is it improbable that the practice of the Emperor Constantine the Great as regards Easter Day was known to Oswald and to Aidan. Indeed, as one reads of the planting of Oswald's Cross at Heavenfield, of his vow, and his princely charities, the thought of Constantine is frequently suggested. There is another link, for the first reputed Christian Emperor was born and saluted as imperator at York (Eboracum), the land over which Oswald then ruled.

Celtic zeal generally displayed itself in the building of churches and monasteries as centres of religious teaching and evangelisation. S. Aidan was not a whit behind others. Besides Lindisfarne other houses owe their origin or foundation to S. Aidan and his monks, amongst them being Coldingham, Melrose, Gateshead, and Hartlepool.

Whilst Aidan and his community were gaining converts in Bernicia, other men reared on the same holy ground, with the same examples of zeal and holiness, were working in other parts. Ireland was spreading light in many dark places. Her missionaries were to be found not only near "home," but over the seas amongst the Swiss, the Burgundians, the Italians, the Franco-nians, and the Frieslanders. Ireland was one grand

seminary, and sent forth hundreds of fervent and zealous men to plant the Cross in heathen lands. A holy emulation existed amongst her sons for this grand work. They were earnest, self-sacrificing, and dreaded not the perils of unknown lands. They penetrated where Cæsar's legions had not. Although the pages of history unfold a long roll of these illustrious, self-sacrificing heralds of the Cross, glisten with their noble deeds, and glow with their heroic charity, hundreds of these spiritual heroes have no earthly record,—their names will be found in the Book of Life!

To return to King Oswald. During a visit to the Court of Cynegils, King of Wessex, for the purpose of asking the hand of his daughter in marriage, he, together with Bishop Birinus, led him to the laver of Regeneration.<sup>1</sup>

Oswald reigned only eight years. The old enemy of the Northumbrians, the heathen Penda, an ally of Cadwallon, who had lost territory during Oswald's reign, determined to strike for its recovery, and he was successful. Oswald, the Bretwalda,<sup>2</sup> was overcome and slain at Maserfield,<sup>3</sup> August 5, 642, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Thus died the wise and sagacious king

<sup>1</sup> To Oswald and Cynegils is due the establishment of the see of Rochester.

<sup>2</sup> Oswald is called "Imperator" by Adamnan in his *Life of S. Columba*. He was not the ruler of Britain, but a "Wide-ruler" = Bretwalda = bryten, broad.

<sup>3</sup> Maserfield, probably near Oswestry = Oswald's Tree in Shropshire.

fighting for God and country—truly king and martyr. As he had lived a life of prayer and communion with God, so at his death, for then he prayed for his soldiers who fell in battle with him : “ God be merciful to the souls of those who are giving up their lives around me.”

The savage Penda caused the head and arms of Oswald to be cut off and fixed upon stakes. The body and dismembered parts were afterwards recovered and reverently cared for. In S. Peter’s Church in Bamburgh they found a temporary resting-place ; subsequently the trunk was removed to Bardney by Oswald’s niece, Osthryd ; the head was removed to Lindisfarne, and later it was placed in S. Cuthbert’s coffin ; the right hand was stolen from the silver reliquary at Bamburgh and taken to Peterborough ; Colman also carried some into Ireland when he left Lindisfarne. Miracles are said to have been performed on the spot where Oswald fell whilst the stakes and splinters off them were reputed to possess virtuous powers.

Great indeed must have been Aidan’s sorrow when he heard that his friend and benefactor had been slain and his body so outraged.

Oswald’s brother, Oswy, succeeded to the throne of Bernicia. He had been a refugee amongst the Picts and had also been cared for by the brethren of Iona. He was a man of humble and pious manners, and showed every kindness to Aidan and his community. Moreover he was zealous in the propagation of the

Faith, though in later days his life was marred by the great crime below mentioned. Penda, who had slain at least five Christian kings, marched into Bernicia against Oswy, and attempted to destroy Bamburgh. Having demolished the wooden buildings in the vicinity of the royal fortress he piled planks, reeds, and such combustible material against the gates of the castle and set them on fire. S. Aidan beheld the smoke and flames from Farne, and prayed that Penda's efforts might be futile — "Behold, Lord, how great mischief Penda does!"—then the wind changed, and drove back the flames upon those who kindled them, some of whom were hurt and the rest so frightened that they abandoned their attempt, and soon afterwards retired south.

In Oswy's reign Bernicia was separated from Deira which was ruled by Oswin, the son of Osric. The two princes lived amiably and peaceably for some time, but disputes arising they prepared for war. As Oswy's army far outnumbered Oswin's he resolved to disband his men and await a more favourable time. With only one attendant (Tondhere) he retired to Ingetlingum (Gilling) near Richmond, and dwelt with the treacherous Hunwald, who betrayed him and his faithful attendant. Both were murdered by Ethelwin, Oswy's steward, acting under his master's orders, August 20, 651.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oswy, on the suggestion of his queen, Eanfleda, made a slight atonement for his crime by granting land at Gilling to Trumhere, for a monastery in which prayers were to be offered for the salvation of his victim and himself.

S. Aidan survived the death of King Oswin<sup>1</sup> only twelve days. The blessed bishop was staying at the King's country house near Bamburgh, and was so suddenly seized with an attack of sickness that a tent had to be hastily stretched against the western wall of the little timber church. With his head leaning upon a log which formed one of the buttresses<sup>2</sup> he fell asleep, August 31, 651.

This event was made known to Cuthbert—afterwards to be monk of Melrose, and in later times a successor of S. Aidan—in a vision, when he was a shepherd on the Lammermuir hills. Whilst others were sleeping Cuthbert was watching and praying. He beheld a bright light,

<sup>1</sup> The body of Oswin is said to have been interred at Tynemouth soon after the murder, which statement Dr. Raine considers to be a mistake on the part of a monk of S. Albans, who inserted Oswin for Osred, King of Northumbria, buried there in 792. Oswin is supposed to have appeared to a monk named Edmund, and commanded him to inform Bishop Egelwin that his body should be translated to a befitting shrine, which was done in 1065, through the influence of the Lady Judith, wife of Tosti, Earl of Northumberland. Ten years later the body, as well as the church of S. Mary, Tynemouth, in which it was interred, were given by Earl Waltheof to Jarrow and Durham.

The body must have been returned to Tynemouth, for the commissioners of Henry VIII. found there a feretory containing his body and vestments (*Gibson*). John of Tynemouth records many miracles wrought at Oswin's shrine. The body, like Cuthbert's, may have been removed at different times to places of safety during troublous days. The church of S. Mary was destroyed by the Danes in the reign of Egfrid, and restored by him. In 792 Osrig (= Osred) was buried there. In 865 and in 870 it was again pillaged and destroyed (*Tomlinson*). At Collingham, in Yorkshire, there is a mutilated runic cross (about A.D. 651) to Oswin, King of Deira, which now reads only "After (to) Onswini, King" (*Dr. Babington*).

<sup>2</sup> This buttress is said to have twice withstood fire when the church was burned to the ground, and to have possessed miraculous properties for curing diseases.

and a company of angels bearing a spirit of surpassing brightness. He awoke his companions, and told them what he had seen. Next morning it was found that the beloved Aidan had passed from the scene of his arduous labours into the paradise of God—there to learn more of His Love, to increase in holiness, to intercede for the Church on earth, and especially for the mission at Lindisfarne.

The body of S. Aidan was temporarily buried in the cemetery at Lindisfarne, but was afterwards translated to the new church of S. Peter at Bamburgh.

Dr. Johnson, when beholding the ruins of Iona, the mother of Lindisfarne, and probably thinking of the last words of the Founder (S. Columba), to the effect that Iona would be held in honour far and near, exclaimed: “Illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, when savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion. . . . That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force on the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer amid the ruins of Iona!” May not these words be repeated when gazing upon the ruins of Lindisfarne? Oh to God that someone would come forward and rebuild them, that once again they may send forth labourers, filled with the holy enthusiasm of S. Aidan, into the wide mission field!



## FINAN, 651 OR 652

A Celtic monk of "fierce" temperament—Columba regarded as an intruder—The Paschal question—Cummian's Epistle to Seghine—Ronan—Finan rebuilds the church at Lindisfarne—Conservatism of the Celtic monks—Celtic monastic buildings—Zeal and enthusiasm—The greatness of Ireland—Appeals from continental Churches to Columban customs, not to Roman—Conversion of Peada—Mercia—The missionary character of the Northumbrian Court—Sigebert baptised—Death of Finan 661.

As Iona had supplied S. Aidan with recruits for his work in Bernicia so also she sent a successor to that bishop of glorious and blessed memory in the person of Finan.

Finan's temperament differed from Aidan's. The Venerable Bede draws a comparison between the two in favour of the latter. Finan is described as resolute, "fierce," and unyielding. He is not to be despised on that account—the founder of Iona had the same reputation, and he probably infused his own spirit into many of his disciples. Columba was masterful, would have his own way, and spared none who attempted to thwart him.<sup>1</sup> This masterful spirit was displayed

<sup>1</sup> Though Adamnan implies that he had a dove-like character, and Notker writing of S. Comgall says that he was in an extraordinary manner the heir of the virtues and merits of S. Columba.

immediately on his arrival at Iona, though he had before that made his own country so hot for him that a Synod of Saints set upon him penance of perpetual exile and the "task" of winning as many souls from paganism as had perished in battle in Connaught in 561, for which he was said to be responsible. At Iona he found two bishops who were willing to receive him, but he was unwilling to acknowledge the validity of their orders, whereupon they left the island to Columba and his disciples.

This same haughty and masterful spirit was displayed by S. Augustine of Canterbury when he found British bishops in the country he was sent to evangelise.

With such memories of Columba, it is not surprising that Finan should have partaken of his intolerant spirit, which was especially marked in the case of Ronan, who had travelled in Italy and Gaul, and had returned with new opinions respecting Church government, services, and the computation of Easter.

During Finan's episcopate the Paschal question came to the front. It was not new, for it was in dispute when Columbanus went to Gaul in 590, and the abbots of Iona had been previously approached on the question of Roman usages, etc., which they vehemently rejected. A celebrated epistle on this question was addressed by Cummian to Seghine<sup>1</sup> in 634; and again, during the

<sup>1</sup> CUMMIAN, probably educated at Durrow, a Columban monastery, "verted" from the rigid Scotie customs and discipline to the Roman

vacancy of the see of Iona in 640, the Roman clergy addressed a letter to the Irish bishops on this subject, and also warning them against the Pelagian heresy. Finan was probably at Iona when these overtures and suggestions were made and haughtily rejected. He undoubtedly carried the same prejudice to Lindisfarne and the same firm belief that the line of sainted bishops, whose holy lives, good works and intercessions had been attested by so many miracles, could not possibly be wrong in a matter of discipline (cf. *Insula Sanct. et Doct.* p. 333).

The difference in discipline must have been known to King Oswald, who had resided at Iona, and probably heard the question discussed; and who had also met Birinus, a native of Southern Italy, when acting sponsor at the baptism of Cynegils.

Amongst those who disputed with Finan respecting the observance of Easter was Ronan, himself a Scot, who is supposed by Mabillon to be the "peregrinus ex genere Scottorum" mentioned under the name of Romanus in a charter reciting the foundations of an

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side, and became an advocate of those usages, much to the disgust of his brethren, who denounced him as a schismatic and heretic. S. Cumman took the opportunity of addressing a letter of explanation to the Abbot of Hy (Iona), Segienus, with regard to his new position as an advocate of the Roman usages which had been adopted in some parts of the south of Ireland. Cumman retired for a whole year to consider the subject, probably to Disert Chuimin. The result of his study is contained in his epistle (a copy of which found its way to S. Gall, where it was preserved). Copious extracts are to be found in King's *Primer of the Church History of Ireland*.

ecclesiastical establishment at Mazerolles upon the river Vienne, in Picardy, of which he and his "peregrini" were the first occupants, and won many converts to the Roman side, and induced many "to make strict inquiry after the truth," but his disputation with Finan made him the more inveterate. In the life of Colman this heart-burning question will be dealt with at greater length.

Finan was a great worker. Men of his temperament are generally untiring in their labours. All that S. Aidan had commenced Finan zealously continued. Moreover he rebuilt the church of Lindisfarne "after the manner of Scotland" (Irish), not in stone although there was plenty at hand, but with oak planks thatched with reeds obtained from the Links. On the right side of the altar of this church he placed the body of S. Aidan, his predecessor. This building was afterwards dedicated to S. Peter the Apostle by Archbishop Theodore (Bede, iii. 25).

These rigidly conservative Celts most probably built the "city" or monastery of Lindisfarne in the same plan as the "city" of Columcille. I am indebted to the Bishop of Edinburgh's *Celtic Church* (p. 124) for the description: "The original monastery would seem to have been of wood, or of wattles and clay. If we would picture to ourselves what the monastery at Iona looked like in the days of Columba we must fancy at a distance of two or three hundred yards from

the shore a large enclosure, surrounded by a high rampart or embankment (*vallum*) constructed of earth, or perhaps of a mixture of earth and stone. Within this rampart was a space round which the lodgings of the monks were situated, and somewhat apart from the rest, on a little rising knoll, was the hut (*turguriolum*) of the abbot. The church, close by, with a little room abutting on it, and, as it would seem, having a door in the outside, and also one opening into the church, like many of our modern vestries, was probably the largest building on the island. There were also a refectory, and one or more guest-chambers, and without the enclosure, a mill, a kiln, a cow-shed, a stable for one or more horses, and a barn."

Finan was a characteristic Celt—energetic, patriotic, restless, generous in aspiration, warm in affection, impatient of rule and order. These traits are pointed out by the saintly Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, as the characteristic temperament of the Celtic Churches in Galatia as seen in S. Paul's Epistle.

The Church and the world owe a debt to the Celtic Christians which can never be fully known. All their best gifts were devoted to the cause of Christ. They were desperate in their missionary zeal and therefore irresistible. They "flung themselves upon the dogged might of heathenism, and grappled with it in a death struggle. They went out by thousands, they beckoned in their converts by tens of thousands. Irish hospitality

extended its hands to half a continent. From Gaul, from Britain, from dozens of other scattered places in the wide dominions of Charlemagne the students came: were kept, as S. Bede tells us, free of cost in the Irish monasteries, and drew their first inspirations in the Irish schools.<sup>1</sup> Ireland played a really great part in European history. The new religious houses looked for their traditions not to Rome, but to Ireland, and quoted for their guidance the instructions not of Gregory but of Columba" (*Greene*).

During the episcopate of Finan happened the interesting conversion of Peada, son of Penda the pagan, who had harassed the Church. Peada was friendly with Alchfrid, son of Oswy, and from him had acquired knowledge of the Christian Faith. Alchfrid had married Peada's sister, Cuniberga. Peada was a suitor for the hand of Alchfleda, daughter of Oswy, but his suit was rejected as he was unbaptised. Peada was anxious and willing to embrace the Faith, and intimated that although the hand of Alchfleda might be refused him he would still embrace the Faith of Christ. He was afterwards admitted into the Church by the rite of

<sup>1</sup> SCHOOLS of IRELAND.—Ireland was renowned for learning as well as for sanctity, hence she was called "Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum." Even in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries she had many famous homes of learning—Armagh, Kildare, Noendrum, Louth, Emly, S. Ibar, Cluainfois, S. Asicus, Arran, Clonard, Clonfert, Moville, Clonmacnoise, Derry, Durrow and Kells. Two Irishmen going into France in 791 were there admired for their incomparable learning, and gave birth to the two first universities in the world, namely those of Paris, and Pavia (Usher, quoted by Butler, iv. 295).

holy baptism by Finan at "the famous royal town called Ad Murum."<sup>1</sup> Not only was Peada himself baptised, but also his followers. He is one of a long list of kings, princes, and great ones who after travelling brought back to their own people teachers, priests, and bishops.

Bishop Finan sent four mission-priests into Mercia with Peada. They established the Church in that kingdom, and observed Scottish customs and usages. The names of these four mission-priests have been preserved—Cedd, Adda, Betta, and Diuma. Adda was brother of Utta, a renowned priest and abbot of the monastery called "Ad Caput Caprae," Bede's translation of what he imagined "Gateshead" to mean, the Saxon for "gate" (road) and "goat" being pronounced exactly alike (*Boyle*). Diuma was afterwards ordained as Bishop of the Mid-English and Mercia by Finan.

<sup>1</sup> AD MURUM.—Supposed to be (1) Pandon in Newcastle or (2) Walbottle—an important place in those days. Pandon was the abode of Saxon royalty, and it is probable that baptisms of such importance as those of Peada and Sigbert should there take place. Moreover, the Venerable Bede describes Ad Murum as being twelve miles from the mouth of the Tyne, which, measured by the course of the river, exactly coincides with the position of Pandon, but is totally irreconcilable with that of any other site to which, on etymological grounds, these events have been referred. The exactness of Bede in other instances in which he defines distance from place to place forbids us to assume that in this case he speaks with the conventional laxity of Symeon of Durham and other later writers. Neither, if we confine ourselves to etymological evidence alone, is the affinity of the name of any suggested site closer to Ad Murum than that of the acclivity at Pandon, which has been immemorially known as Wall Knoll (*Dr. Bruce*).

The first three were trained by S. Aidan, the last named came from Iona.

The Court of Northumbria, in its influential work for Christianity amongst heathen princes, reminds one of the influence exerted by the court of Constantinople over the pagans of the East, and notably the case of Caesarea, the Persian queen, who visited Constantinople in 663, was baptised, and who would not return to her own country unless her husband was also baptised. When he was acquainted with the Queen's resolution, he, together with forty thousand soldiers who accompanied him to the capital of the East, received that sacrament (Platina's *Life of Vitalianus*, i.).

Sigebert, King of the East Saxons, was also converted and baptised whilst on a visit to the Northumbrian court, where Finan was a constant guest and teacher. Cedd returned with Sigebert to Essex, and, working under more favourable circumstances than Mellitus who had previously laboured amongst the same people, was so successful that Finan consecrated him bishop.

Finan died on the last day of August 661. Though a man of fierce temper he was a most successful worker, and, as Archbishop Usher truly says, he and S. Aidan "deserve to be honoured by the English nation with as venerable a remembrance as Austin the Monk and his followers, for by the ministry of Aidan was the kingdom of Northumberland recovered from Paganism, whereunto belonged then, besides the shire of Northumberland and



the lands beyond into Edinburgh Frith, Cumberland also, and Westmoreland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the Bishopric of Durham ; and by means of Finan not only the kingdom of the East Saxons, which contained Essex, Middlesex, and half of Herts, was regained, but also the large kingdom of Mercia was converted first unto Christianity, which comprehended under it Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Northamptonshire, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Beds, Bucks, Oxford, Stafford, Derby, Salop, Notts, Cheshire, and the other half of Herts. The Scotch (or Irish), who professed no subjection to the Church of Rome, were they that sent preachers for the conversion of these countries, and ordained bishops to govern them—viz. Aidan, Finan, and Colman, successively for the kingdom of Northumberland ; for the East Saxons, Cedde, brother to Cedda, Bishop of York ; for the Middle Angles and Mercians, Diuma.”

## COLMAN, 661

The Paschal question—Conference at Whitby—Hilda—Women in councils—Hilda's double monastery—Bede's account of the Conference—Celtic hero-worship—Retirement of Colman—Cummian's letter (634)—Colman at Innisboffin—Founds Mayo—His death 676.

KING OSWY appointed Colman successor of Finan in 661. Like his predecessor he was a man of hot temper, and an anti-Romanist. The Paschal question<sup>1</sup> came to a crisis in his episcopate. Great inconvenience had been experienced in the observance of Easter through the inter-marriage of princes. Some who had been under Roman teachers kept the Lenten fast, whilst others trained under the Celtic missionaries were celebrating the Paschal feast. This was the case in the King's household. Oswy's wife, Eanfleda, daughter of Edwin, had been brought up in Kent where the Roman custom was observed, whilst the King followed the Celtic. Consequently there was some infelicity and frequent

<sup>1</sup> The Irish and British Churches did *not* celebrate with the Quartodecimans on the fourteenth day of moon, no matter which day of the week it might happen to be, but always on a Sunday. (See articles on "Easter" and "Paschal Epistles," in *Dict. Antig.* for history of many controversies, and final settlement of this vexed question.)

domestic jars, which Oswy, as a wise king, desired to have settled one way or the other. To bring about uniformity a conference was held in Whitby (Streanaeshalch) Abbey, to which the leading ecclesiastics in the King's dominions were summoned. Two bishops were present besides Colman, the Bishop of London (Cedd), and the Bishop of Dorchester (Agilbert); the former being on a visit to a monastery he had founded in Northumbria, and the latter being on a visit to Wilfrid and was present at the conference by courtesy.

The advocates for the Celtic method were Oswy, Colman, Cedd, Colman's clerks, and Hilda. On the Roman side were the Queen and Prince Aldfrid, Agilbert, Wilfrid, Tuda, Agatho, Romanus, and James the Deacon.

The Abbess Hilda presided. It may seem strange in these days that a woman should have attained such prominence, but it was by no means a rare event for women to assist in such deliberations in former times. It is well known that Marcella, a young widow who resided in her palace on Mount Aventine, became the support of orthodoxy in Rome, and the adviser of Pope Anastasius; the illustrious Melania brought about a public and solemn reconciliation between Rufinus and Jerome, though it was not lasting; the sweet, though sometimes arbitrary Margaret of Scotland, in later times, frequently assisted in ecclesiastical councils, and succeeded in convincing the clergy, after prolonged discussion, of the advantage

of conforming to the practices of Catholic Christendom ; Elfleda of Whitby, “the comforter and best adviser of the whole province,” was useful at Nidd ; and it is not surprising that a woman of wise, prudent, charitable disposition, and withal favoured with the gift of conciliation, should preside over the deliberations of the Celtic and Roman advocates in her double monastery at Whitby.

A brief account of Hilda may not be out of place in this chapter. She was the daughter of Hereric, nephew of Edwin, King of the Northumbrians, and was baptised at the age of fourteen by Paulinus at the same time as her great-uncle. Hilda was desirous of embracing the religious life, and at first intended to join her sister Hereswide at Chelles in France, where she spent some months, but her dear friend Bishop Aidan, who is said to have loved her as a daughter, prevailed upon her to return to Northumbria. For a short time she lived on the north bank of the Wear, with several companions in a small nunnery founded by Heieu, who was “the first of all Northumbrian women to receive the monastic habit from Aidan’s own hand,” and who afterwards retired to a place near Tadcaster (Calcester). Hilda removed to Hartlepool, and some years afterwards left to preside over the double monastery<sup>1</sup> at Whitby. She

<sup>1</sup> Double monasteries were peculiar to the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Church. The best known were at Whitby, Coldingham, Tynemouth, Wimborne, and Kildare. They were ruled by women, and amongst them are to be found eminent names such as SS. Hilda, Ebba, and

was the foundress of Hackness. For her eminence in piety and grace she was called "the Mother," and successfully trained the inmates of her establishment "in the practice of justice, piety, chastity, and all other virtues, but especially of peacefulness and charity ; so that after the model of the primitive Church, no one there was rich or poor, all persons had all things in common, for nothing appeared to be the property of any individual. So great also was her prudence, that not only all common people in their necessities, but even sometimes kings and princes sought counsel of her and found it." Hilda supplied the Church with many distinguished men, and amongst them Bosa, Hedda, Ostfor, John of Beverley, all of whom became bishops, and the

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Brigid. There were few houses of this description abroad, and mostly founded by Celtic missionaries. Cogitosus describes Kildare as being very lofty and very large, richly adorned with pictures, hangings, and ornamental doorways. A partition ran across the breadth of the church near the chancel or sanctuary ; at one of its extremities there was a door which admitted the bishop and his clergy to the sanctuary and to the altar ; at the other extremity, on the opposite side, there was a similar door by which Brigid and her virgins and widows used to enter to enjoy the Banquet of the Body and Blood of Christ. Then a central partition ran down the nave, dividing the men from the women ; the men being on the right, and the women on the left, and each division having its own lateral entrance. These partitions did not rise to the roof of the church, but only so high as to serve their purpose. The partition at the sanctuary or chancel was formed of boards of wood, decorated with pictures, and covered with linen hangings, which might, it seems, be drawn aside at the consecration, to give the people in the nave a better view of the Holy Mysteries. The system did not always answer from a moral point of view. The "double-order" of S. Pachomius, monk of the Thebaid, in the fourth century, cannot be compared to the Celtic custom.

poet-monk Cædmon, the father of English song.<sup>1</sup> The sainted Hilda died in November 680, fortified by the

<sup>1</sup> The story of his inspiration is told by Bede. At the festive gatherings the harp was pushed round the hall at supper, and each person present was supposed to sing. Cædmon, shy, or ashamed of his shortcomings, used to slip away before his turn came. One night as he lay in his stable some one asked him to sing,—“Cædmon, sing me something.” “I know nothing to sing.” “Nay, but thou must sing something.” “What shall I sing then?” “Sing the Creation.” Then Cædmon poured forth his sweet song. When he awoke he told his fellows of the gift he had received. Word was taken to the Abbess Hilda of the cowherd’s new-born gift. With some of the monks she visited Cædmon, and all were convinced of his skill! Cædmon was prevailed upon to become an inmate of Hilda’s double monastery, and spent the remaining years in composing sacred poetry. The Paraphrase of Cædmon contained various portions of Holy Scripture—Old and New Testament. Some maintain that there were two poets of the same name: the elder composed the lines on the Creation, and that the younger was the author of the Paraphrase. The following is a short extract from the “Paraphrase”—part of the Song of Azariah:

Then from the firmament was  
 An all-bright angel  
 Sent from above,  
 A man of beauteous form,  
 In his garb of glory;  
 Who to them came for comfort,  
 And for their lives salvation,  
 With love and with grace;  
 Who the flame scattered  
 (Holy and heaven-bright)  
 Of the hot fire,  
 Swept it and dashed away,  
 Through his great might,  
 The beams of flame;  
 So that their bodies were not  
 Injured ought.

(Quoted from Dr. Collier’s *English Literature*.)

There has been a good deal of discussion respecting Cædmon—did he really exist? Was he an Anglo-Saxon, or a Celt? What influences bore upon him? Bede must have had some basis of truth which became distorted as it passed from lip to lip.

Blessed Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, and exhorting her nuns to keep Christian peace amongst themselves.

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Dr. Atkinson (*Memorials of Old Whitby*, pp. 15 and 16) has threshed out the subject most ably. In commenting on Bede's account of Cædmon, he remarks that "it is very far indeed from being certain what Cædmon's social condition really was. Whether *gebûr* or oxherd (with his own private pair of oxen and a cow), he was *that*—present, as he not infrequently was, at a *gebeorscipe* at the house of one like himself as to class and condition, a homely gathering in a cot in the *tûn*, or hamlet, such as the cots or huts, then called houses, were, and where the liquor provided would doubtless be the beer from which the descriptive term employed takes its derivation. We see him for shame (*for sceoma*) creeping away when the harp was coming, in its ordered course, near to the seat he occupied, sometimes retiring to his own house or cot, but on this particular night withdrawing to the *neat-shippon* or oxtalls, of which by special order he happened to be in charge; and there, at the usual hour, he laid himself down to rest. Then in the morning we see him make his way to report himself, and what had happened, to the proper official, the towns-reeve, namely, part of whose special business it was in ploughing time to see the oxen duly yoked, and the several ploughs duly and punctually at work; and by this official he is taken as one under authority to one still nearer the head of all authority in the establishment, the 'alderman,' as he is called, or the steward (as we might call him), by whom he is conducted to the actual head over all—under ordinary circumstances the 'Lord,' but in this particular case, the Abbess, known as the Lady Hild. The 'stable,' the 'horses,' the 'manger,' the 'menial situation,' his habitancy at the monastery, his presence with other monks at a banquet, his 'master who was the chief man of the village,' all disappear, and instead we have the sober everyday arrangements of the ordinary old English manor or estate."

Cædmon's Poem, written about 670, is for us the beginning of English poetry, and the story of its origin ought to be loved by us. Nor should we fail to reverence the place where it began (Stopford A. Brooke, *Lit. Prim.* p. 12).

"Busy as criticism has been, it has not dethroned the humble Whitby herdman from his proud seat among the fore-elders in our national temple of song. It is undeniable that a large number of poems attributed to Cædmon were probably written or recast by other poets, but the fact remains that these assumed the name of Cædmon, just as,

In opening the proceedings of the Conference the King stated that "it behoved those who served one God

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to quote a well-known example, many of the Psalms of David assumed his name though they were not written by him, because he was the chief singer of Israel, the man whose praises as a psalmist were in every mouth. So far from taking from Cædmon's fame, the fact of the assumption of his name by other poets only adds to it." . . . "Cædmon may be a *nom-de-plume*; as has been suggested by Palgrave, it may come from the Hebrew, signifying Oriental, or from the East; or again, it may be a Celtic name, the root of which, Cæd, is found in Catumanus, the Cadfan of modern Welsh, as Mr. Bradley holds; or it may be pure British, as found in Cædwalla, or Cædbed, perhaps also in Chad; but Eastern, Welsh, British, or Old English, whatever the name be, of the personality of the man there can be little doubt. We trust the Venerable Bede the historian for that, as we trust him also for the fact of Hilda having been the first abbess upon the hill above the town" (Canon Rawnsley's paper on *Cædmon*, 1897). "With the sole exception of Mæso-Gothic, the Anglo-Saxon MSS. are the oldest and best of all those produced by any Teutonic race. And when it is remembered that the Gothic fragments only contain portions of a translation of the Bible, our Anglo-Saxon poems remain as the oldest documents in existence as specimens of a native Teutonic literature. Not only are they the oldest, but they are the best. At least three authors are supremely first, two whose names we know, viz. Cædmon and Cynewulf, and one whose name we do not know, viz. the author of *Béowulf*. All scholars accept the statements of Bede as to the existence of Cædmon and his excellence as an author. More than that, there are the famous nine lines, in the old Northumbrian dialect, which have come down to us in the very form in which Cædmon composed them. As to the poems usually attributed to him, there is admittedly some doubt. But it is generally believed that these later versions represent what he wrote with more or less fidelity. There are really *two* such versions, frequently distinguished by the letters A and B. Of these A is a ninth-century poem in Anglo-Saxon or Southern English, which may very well be a fair reproduction of the seventh-century poem by Cædmon originally written in the Northern dialect. The other version, B, written a little later, is certainly only an Anglo-Saxon translation of a poem originally written in the Old Saxon (Westphalian) dialect by the author of another poem known as the *Heliand*. This was originally only a conjecture made by Liefvers, but it is now a certainty; for a portion of the Old Saxon original has lately been found in a MS. in the Vatican.



to observe the same rule of life; and as they all expected the same kingdom in heaven so they ought not to differ in the celebration of the Divine Mysteries: but rather to inquire which was the truest tradition, that

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But the Old Saxon version may also very well represent something of Cædmon's original, though probably with less exactness. There needs no more to be said. Beyond question, Cædmon, the poet, sang at Whitby, and composed one of the earliest poems ever made in any Teutonic language. Of this poem we actually possess nine lines; and even these are quite enough to show us that he possessed great capabilities, and understood the poetical art. If any town in Germany could boast so much, its inhabitants would long ago have proclaimed it to all Europe, and would have taken good care that we should all know it. It is reserved for the English, alone among all races, to make but little effort to honour the great names of old. It is probably because the history of England is so full of records of great and good men that we have become almost indifferent to keeping their memories green. But our very greatness imposes on us great responsibilities, which we shall do well to recognise. I append a few notes. In the form *Cædmon*, *Cæd* is pronounced just like the London pronunciation of *cad*. It rhymes with *glad*, as *glad* is pronounced in London and Oxford and Cambridge: not with *glad* as pronounced in Yorkshire. I see no reason for supposing that *Cæd* is Celtic: for *mon*, i. e. *man*, is very plain English. The name, slightly varied to *Cadmon*, appears in a Bucks charter, about A.D. 948, as printed in Birch, *Cartularium Garsonicum*, vol. ii. p. 39. *Hilda* is a false spelling, due to the Monkish habit of Latinising all names. Her real *English* name was *Hild*, and is the same as the Anglo-Saxon word *hild*, meaning 'battle.' Bede spells her name correctly. So does the Old English translation of Bede. But all later books (as a rule) add the stupid *a*, to tell us that the name was feminine! Why, of course it was! Similarly, the Old High German (Frankish) name *Mahthild* is now spelt *Matilda*! *Maht-hild* means 'might-battle.' *Matilda* has no sense at all. I wish the spelling *Hild* could receive recognition" (Professor W. W. Skeat).

On the Ruthwell cross, inscribed with a poem, are the words "Cædmon made me," which may refer to the poem. "The poet Cædmon was singing inspired songs at the time when this cross must have been erected, but we have no information of his having sung such a song as this." (See further Bishop (Browne) of Bristol's *Theodore and Wilfrith*, S.P.C.K. p. 248, *et seq.*)

the same might be followed by all." Oswy then called upon Bishop Colman to declare his custom and its origin.<sup>1</sup>

Bede gives a full account of the speeches. Colman advocated the Irish customs, and Wilfrid (who by request spoke for Agilbert) the Roman. Colman stated:

" 'The Easter which I keep, I received from my elders, who sent me bishop hither; all our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have kept it after the same manner; and that the same may not seem to any contemptible or worthy to be rejected, it is the same which St. John the Evangelist, the disciple beloved of our Lord, with all the churches over which he presided, is recorded to have observed.' Having said thus much, and more to the like effect, the King commanded Agilbert to show whence his custom of keeping Easter was derived, or on what authority it was grounded. Agilbert answered—'I desire that my disciple, the priest Wilfrid, may speak in my stead; because we both concur with the other followers of the ecclesiastical tradition that are here present, and he can better explain our opinion in the English language than I can by an interpreter.'

"Then Wilfrid, being ordered by the King to speak, delivered himself thus—'The Easter which we observe, we saw celebrated by all at Rome,'<sup>2</sup> where the blessed apostles Peter and Paul lived, taught, suffered, and were buried; we saw the same done in France and in Italy, when we travelled through those countries for pilgrimage and prayer. We found the same practised in Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and all the world wherever the Church of Christ is spread

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<sup>1</sup> Eddius, Wilfrid's biographer, with all his Petrine bias, does not say a word about S. Peter teaching the true Easter at Rome. Wilfrid's argument, according to Eddius, rested entirely on the decision of the Council of Nicæa, where the Easter question was not referred to in the Canons of the Council, but was settled in the Decrees (Bp. Browne).

<sup>2</sup> See *Life of Wilfrid*.

abroad, through several nations and tongues, at one and the same time; except only these and their accomplices in obstinacy, I mean the Picts and the Britons, who foolishly, in these two remote islands of the world, and only in part even of them, oppose all the rest of the universe.' When he had so said, Colman answered—'It is strange that you will call our labours foolish, wherein we follow this example of so great an apostle, who was thought worthy to lay his head on our Lord's bosom, when all the world knows him to have lived most wisely.' Wilfrid replied—'Far be it from us to charge John with folly, for he literally observed the precepts of the Jewish law, whilst the Church still Judaized in many points, and the apostles were not able at once to cast off all the observances of the law which had been instituted by God. In which way it is necessary that all who come to the faith should forsake the idols which were invented by devils, that they might not give scandal to the Jews which were among the Gentiles. For this reason it was, that Paul circumcised Timothy, that he offered sacrifice in the temple, that he shaved his head with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth; for no other advantage than to avoid giving scandal to the Jews. Hence it was that James said to the same Paul—"You see, brother, how many thousands of the Jews have believed: and they are all zealous for the law. And yet, at this time, the Gospel spreading throughout the world, it is needless, nay, it is not lawful, for the faithful either to be circumcised, or to offer up to God sacrifices of flesh." So John, pursuant to the custom of the law, began the celebration of the feast of Easter on the fourteenth day of the first month, in the evening, not regarding whether the same happened on a Saturday, or any other day. But when Peter preached at Rome, being mindful that our Lord arose from the dead, and gave the world the hopes of resurrection on the first day after the Sabbath, he understood that Easter ought to be observed, so as always to stay till the rising of the moon on the fourteenth day of the first moon, in the evening, according to the custom and precepts of the law, even as John did. And when that came, if the Lord's day, then called the first day after the Sabbath, was the next day, he began that very evening to keep Easter as we all do at this day. But if the Lord's day did not fall the next morning after the

fourteenth moon, but on the sixteenth, or the seventeenth, or any other moon till the twenty-first, he waited for that, and on the Saturday before, in the evening, began to observe the holy solemnity of Easter. Thus it came to pass that Easter Sunday was only kept from the fifteenth moon to the twenty-first. Nor does this evangelical and apostolic tradition abolish the law, but rather fulfil it; the command being to keep the passover from the fourteenth moon of the first month in the evening, to the twenty-first moon of the same month in the evening; which observance all the successors of St. John in Asia, since his death, and all the Church throughout the world, have since followed; and that this is the true Easter, and the only one to be kept by the faithful, was not newly decreed by the Council of Nice, but only confirmed afresh, as the Church history informs us.

“Thus it appears, that you, Colman, neither follow the example of John, as you imagine, nor that of Peter, whose traditions you knowingly contradict; and that you neither agree with the law nor the Gospel in the keeping of your Easter. For John, keeping the Paschal time according to the Mosaic law, had no regard to the first day after the Sabbath. Peter kept Easter Sunday between the fifteenth and the twenty-first moon, which you do not, but keep Easter Sunday from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon; so that you often begin Easter on the thirteenth moon in the evening, whereof neither the law made any mention, nor did our Lord, the Author and Giver of the Gospel, on that day, but on the fourteenth, either eat the old Passover in the evening or deliver the Sacraments of the New Testament to be celebrated by the Church in memory of His Passion. Besides, in your celebration of Easter you utterly exclude the twentieth moon, which the law ordered to be principally observed. Thus, as I said before, you agree neither with John nor Peter, nor with the law, nor the Gospel, in the celebration of the greatest festival.’

“To this Colman rejoined—‘Did Anatolius, a holy man and much commended in Church history, act contrary to the law and the Gospel, when he wrote that Easter was to be celebrated from the fourteenth to the twentieth? Is it to be believed that our most reverend Father Columba and his successors, men beloved by God,

who kept Easter after the same manner, thought or acted contrary to the Divine writings? Whereas there were many among them, whose sanctity is testified by heavenly signs and the working of miracles, whose life, customs, and discipline, I never cease to follow, not questioning their being saints in heaven.'

"'It is evident,' said Wilfrid, 'that Anatolius was a most holy, learned, and commendable man; but what have you to do with him, since you do not observe his decrees? For he, following the rule of truth in his Easter, appointed a revolution of nineteen years, which either you are ignorant of, or if you know it, though it is kept by the whole Church of Christ, yet you despise it. He so computed the fourteenth moon in the Easter of our Lord, that according to the custom of the Egyptians he acknowledged it to be the fifteenth moon in the evening; so in like manner he assigned the twentieth to Easter Sunday, as believing that to be the twenty-first moon, when the sun had set, which rule and distinction of his it appears you are ignorant of, in that you sometimes keep Easter before the full of the moon, that is, on the thirteenth day. Concerning your Father Columba and his followers, whose sanctity you say you imitate, and whose rules and precepts you observe, which have been confirmed by signs from heaven, I may answer, that when many, on the day of judgment, shall say to our Lord, "That in His name they prophesied, and cast out devils, and wrought many wonders," our Lord will reply that "He never knew them." But far be it from me that I say so of your fathers, because it is much more just to believe what is good than what is evil of persons whom one does not know. Wherefore I do not deny those to have been God's servants, and beloved by Him, who with rustic simplicity, but pious intentions, have themselves loved Him. Nor do I think that such keeping of Easter was very prejudicial to them, as long as none came to show them a more perfect rule; and yet I do believe that they, if any catholic adviser had come among them, would have as readily followed his admonitions as they are known to have kept those commandments of God which they learned and knew.

"'But as for you and your companions, you certainly sin if, having heard the decrees of the Apostolic See, and of the universal Church, and that the same is confirmed by holy writ, you refuse to

follow them; for, though your fathers were holy, do you think that their small number, in a corner of the remotest island, is to be preferred before the universal Church of Christ throughout the world? And if that Columba of yours (and I may say ours also if he was Christ's servant) was a holy man and powerful in miracles yet could he be preferred before the most blessed prince of apostles, to whom our Lord said—"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven"?' "

"When Wilfrid had spoken thus, the King said, 'Is it true, Colman, that these words were spoken to Peter by our Lord?' He answered, 'It is true, O King!' Then says he, 'Can you have any such power given to your Columba?' Colman answered, 'None.' Then added the King, 'Do you both agree that these words were principally directed to Peter, and that the keys of heaven were given to him by our Lord?' They both answered, 'We do.' Then the King concluded, 'And I also say unto you, that he is the door-keeper, whom I will not contradict, but will, as far as I know and am able, in all things obey his decrees, lest, when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys.'<sup>1</sup> The King having said this, all present, both great and small, gave their assent, and renouncing the more imperfect institution, resolved to conform to that which they found to be better" (Bede, *E. H.* iii. 25).

Wilfrid had the best of the argument, and Oswy decided to follow the Roman custom, not because he was convinced that the practice he had hitherto observed was wrong, but through fear of being excluded from heaven by S. Peter to whom were given the keys.

Colman was silenced. With pain he had listened to

<sup>1</sup> Aldhelm, an ardent Romaniser, had used the same expression in a letter (*cf.* King's *Hist. Ireland*, p. 202).

Wilfrid's contemptuous remarks and references to the Irish fathers and their customs; and as the King had charged and ordered that the Roman custom<sup>1</sup> of observing Easter should be kept in the future, in his dominions, Colman considered—and wisely too—that the best course was to resign the see of Lindisfarne and return to Iona, where the beloved founder, Columba, and all his customs and usages,<sup>2</sup> including the Celtic tonsure,<sup>3</sup> which had caused no little ridicule, were

<sup>1</sup> The Roman use finally prevailed in England. Archbishop Theodore is believed to have arranged everything according to Roman customs, and from that time general uniformity existed. Nothing further of importance occurred respecting Easter until the Gregorian reformation of the calendar, by which time the accumulated errors arising from the one and a half hours' excess of the nineteen-years cycle made the calendar moon about four days later than the real moon (Hort).

<sup>2</sup> Customs peculiar to the Celtic Church—form of tonsure, consecration of bishops by a single bishop, no archiepiscopate, single instead of triune immersion in baptism, dedication of churches to the founder instead of to some illustrious saint, the observance of Easter, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Adopted by monks as a token of renunciation of the pleasures and riches of the world. There were two forms of tonsure, circular and semi-circular, coronal and crescent-shape. The Roman clergy shaved the crown of the head, which represented our Lord's crown of thorns. This tonsure was called S. Peter's. The Celtic tonsure was from ear to ear, and the hair was allowed to grow behind. The Romans derided this as Simon Magus' tonsure. Dr. Dowden thinks the Celtic tonsure showed a fringe of hair in front, but that the top of the head was not shaved beyond a line drawn from ear to ear, so that viewed from behind there was nothing that marked the ecclesiastic or monk from the ordinary layman (cf. *Celtic Church*, p. 242-4). The tonsure of S. Paul, which was also used in the West, consisted of shaving the whole head. Archbishop Theodore having received the Eastern tonsure, was obliged to wait four months before proceeding to Britain, in order to allow his hair to grow so that he might receive the Roman (S. Peter's) tonsure. Some people maintain that "the ecclesiastical tonsure was nothing more than polling the head and cutting the hair to a moderate degree. The tonsure of the Western

venerated and observed by Churchmen who looked not upon Rome, but upon the East as the source of their Christianity.<sup>1</sup> At this time the Celtic monks on the

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clergy by no means consisted in shaven crowns: this was expressly forbidden them lest they should resemble the priests of Isis and Serapis who shaved the crowns of their heads (Hook's *Dict.*). In Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*, founder of Athens, it is stated that he "according to custom offered the first fruits of his (*sic*) heir (hair) to Apollo. He shaved, however, only the forepart of his head, as Homer tells us the Abantes did; and this kind of tonsure, on his account, was called Theseis. The Abantes first cut their hair in this manner, not in imitation of the Arabians, as some imagine, nor yet of the Mysians, but because they were a warlike people . . . that they might not give advantage to their enemies by their hair, they took care to cut it off." The Battle of the Tonsure had been fought on the Continent almost wherever Celtic customs were observed. At Bayeux, a Saxon colony had copied the Celtic tonsure from the Bretons before A.D. 590. It was also condemned by a Spanish Council in 633. The old Russians were quite as obstinate over the beard. "Where," asked one of the patriarchs of Moscow, "where will those who shave their chins stand at the Last Day? Among the righteous adorned with beards or among the beardless heretics?" (D. Mackenzie Wallace's *Russia*, c. xx.).

<sup>1</sup> The Church of Ireland was of Eastern origin, as witness the statement of S. Colman at this conference. The *present* Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is of Western origin, and is not the ancient and historic Church of Ireland. The Irish did not acknowledge the supremacy or jurisdiction of Rome until the eleventh century, when a rival episcopate was introduced through the Danish invaders who occupied some of the towns on the coast. Previous to 1074, when the second Bishop of the Danes in Dublin regarded papal jurisdiction, all had been subject to an Irish primate, to whom they had referred in spiritual matters. It was not until 1084 that Rome, in the person of Gregory VII., publicly asserted that her supremacy extended to Ireland, and the first Papal Legate was a certain Gilbert, bishop of the Danes in Limerick (1106), who was the *first* to attempt to introduce the Roman office into Ireland and to abolish the old service books. The *first* Irish Council at which a papal legate presided was that of Rathbrasil (1118). The *first* episcopal appointment in Ireland in which any influence of the Pope, however faint, can be traced, appears to have been one made by Malachy, as legate, in the nomination of a Bishop of Cork (about 1140). The *first* saints of the "Island



Continent suffered reverses. About fifty years after the death of Columbanus the Benedictine Rule gained ascendancy over the Columban Rule, "owing partly to the principles upon which it was framed and to its meeting human nature half-way, but chiefly to the sanction and patronage of the see of Rome which was not accorded to its rival." Had the Columban Rule become supreme the history of the Roman Papacy would have differed from its present form.<sup>1</sup>

The whole of the "Scottish" and about thirty of the Anglican brethren, carrying some of the relics of Aidan, the first Bishop of Lindisfarne, and other treasures, sorrowfully wended their way to Iona, leaving Northumbria in the hands of their adversaries. Colman was received with much sympathy at Iona, and with evident signs of joy because he had been faithful to the

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of Saints" who were elevated to the dignity of that name by a papal sanction were Malachy and Laurence (who died in 1148 and 1180 respectively). The *first* palls bestowed on any prelates of the Irish Church were sent over here in 1151. The *first* Council in Ireland which gave an order for regulating the Church ritual and discipline uniformly with that of the Church of Rome was the Synod of Cashel, A.D. 1172. The *first* Irish prelate who received orders of a pope was John Cumin, Archbishop of Dublin, A.D. 1182. The *first* Primate of Armagh appointed by a pope was Eugene MacGillivider, A.D. 1206. (King's *Hist.* 597-581).

<sup>1</sup> Columbanus had met with the same opposition, as regards Easter, on the Continent. He would not give up the Irish mode of computing Easter, the Irish tonsure, or the "Cursus Scotorum," he had received from S. Comgall. In 602 he was arraigned before a synod, and argued that if there was any error it was not his but his father's. He asked for licence "to live in silence, in peace and in charity, as he had lived for twelve years beside the bones of his seventeen departed brethren."

traditions of the most holy father Columba. Iona some time before had rejected proposals to adopt the Roman discipline when Cummian, the famous Paschal controversialist and the most learned Irish scholar of the seventh century, addressed his celebrated letter<sup>1</sup> on this question to Abbot Seghine. The language of the epistle, which was couched in humble terms, forms a contrast with Wilfrid's haughty manner and speech at the Whitby conference. Cummian failed to obtain the consent of the Abbot of Iona, Seghine being too tenacious of the traditions and discipline of his sainted fathers. A letter of earlier date, addressed by Laurence, successor of Augustine at Canterbury, Mellitus and Justus, to their "most dear brothers the Lords, Bishops, and Abbots" throughout all Scotia, urging them to conform to "universal" practice, had been treated with silence. Honorius I. had also failed to bring into line the "scanty little number inhabiting the ends of the earth," who persevered in celebrating a different Easter "in opposition to the Paschal computations and synodal decrees of the bishops of the whole world." Columba had successfully impressed his personality upon his disciples. His words and actions were reverently

<sup>1</sup> Cummian's Paschal epistle was probably written at the request of the "National" synod held at Magh Lene or Campus Lene, A.D. 630, to consider this question. The clergy in the northern part of the island held out against the new Roman method, whilst those in the southern and midland parts accepted it. Copious extracts of Cummian's epistle will be found in King's *Primer Ch. Hist. Ireland*, Bk. II. c. iv. etc.

handed on from monk to monk. An illustration of this form of hero-worship occurs in the life of S. Gall, who was offered a silver cup as a chalice for Holy Communion. He declined the gift, urging that S. Peter had neither silver nor gold and his master, Columba, had used a brazen cup.<sup>1</sup> The same spirit ruled their church architecture to a great extent.

Colman and the brethren from Lindisfarne did not remain long at Iona, but passed over into Ireland—to Innisboffin (the island of the white cow), bare and desolate and lashed by the Atlantic waves. There he was joined by many old friends and pupils, amongst them the four sons of a certain King Cusperius, who had been educated by Colman at Lindisfarne and were affectionately attached to him. One of them, Gerald, became Abbot of Winton, whilst Colman was Bishop of Lindisfarne, and after crossing over to Ireland was made first Abbot of Mayo with the consent of Colman (Augustin Magraidin, quoted in Bp. Healy's *Ins. Doct. SS.* p. 534).

The two nationalities of Colman's community did not long live amicably together in their new home at

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Savonarola's expression, "In the early church chalices were of wood and bishops of gold." In his day the terms were reversed. By a canon of the Council of Rheims (*temp.* Chas. Gt.), churches were obliged to have chalices of pure metal. Bronze was peculiar to the Irish monks. Some had refused to use silver vessels as Columbanus used bronze, and alleged as a further good reason that Christ was affixed to the Cross with brazen nails. A wooden cup said to have been Columba's is preserved at Bobbio.

Innisboffin. The Irish offended the Angles by their laziness. During the seasons when there was great need for manual labour, when harvests had to be gathered, the Irish left the other members of the community to do the work whilst they wandered about seeking alms, which they kept for themselves, returning to the monastery in the winter to share the fruits of the labours of the harvesters.

There was "just" cause for protest. One thing seemed inevitable—viz. that the two nationalities should part. Colman therefore decided to build a monastery for the Anglican brethren elsewhere, and for that purpose purchased a piece of land from the "Earl," who, conditionally that the brethren should pray to the Lord for him, made them an additional grant. This was the beginning of the famous school of Mayo.

Colman remained at Innisboffin with the Celtic monks, but always took a fatherly interest in the monastery at Mayo and frequently visited them. In time they became an independent community and elected their own abbot, S. Gerald being the first.

Nine years after reaching Innisboffin Colman died (676), revered and respected by all, Celt and Roman alike. Bede, who wrote many years after Colman's death, paid noble testimony to his virtues although he disagreed with his views, and Aengus in his *Feilire*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Feilire*, or *Festology of the Saints*, a poem supposed to have been written by Aengus, a monk who conceived the idea from a vision

calls him "the praiseworthy Colman of Inis-bo-finde."

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of angels over the grave of a poor soldier who used to invoke the saints. The date is uncertain. Dr. Stokes asserts that Aengus could not have been the author, whereas Eugene O'Curry, an equally eminent Irish scholar, asserts that he was (Pamphlet R. I. A. 1871; Bp. Healey, *Insula Doc. et SS.* 410 *et seq.*). It is the most ancient of the five martyrologies belonging to Ireland, and consists of three parts—(1) five quatrains invoking a blessing on the poet and his work; (2) a preface of 220 quatrains; and (3) the festology itself in 365 quatrains for every day in the year (O'Curry, quoted by the late Bp. Forbes).

## TUDA, 664

Tuda, a Southern Scot—A compromise—The yellow plague—Apostasy of the plague-stricken—Charms—Death of Tuda—See of Lindisfarne temporarily abandoned.

ON Colman's departure from Lindisfarne the blessed Eata, Abbot of Melrose, was appointed Abbot of Lindisfarne by the King, at Colman's request, and Tuda, who had been educated and consecrated among the southern Scots, *i. e.* in the south of Ireland, was made Bishop of the Northumbrians.

The appointment was a sort of compromise. "His episcopal character came through a native channel, but one that fixed its centre of unity at Rome" (*Soames*). According to Bede he wore the "proper" ecclesiastical tonsure, and held the catholic computation of Easter. The same spirit of compromise was displayed in the selection of Wighard for the see of Canterbury. The rivalries and jealousies of the Celtic and Roman schools had caused a good deal of friction, which the kings Oswy and Egbert were anxious to terminate by uniting the two lines of succession, and so they hoped to attain

uniformity of worship. Wighard, a Kentish priest, was sent to Rome for consecration, but was seized with malaria and died there. It was in order to save time that the Bishop of Rome, after receiving communications from King Oswy and King Egbert, sent Theodore of Tarsus, a member of the Greek Church, to fill the vacant see.<sup>1</sup>

During Tuda's episcopate the British Isles, with the exception of the Highlands of Scotland, were ravaged by the terrible yellow plague—*pestilentiæ lues* (Bede), or *Flava scabies* (*Annals of the Four Masters*)—which amongst other good and religious men carried off Bishop Tuda. This dreadful visitation severely tried the faith of the new converts, many of whom had recourse to heathen charms. The same conduct of converts had been experienced in other parts of Christendom, much to the disappointment of the Christian leaders. S. Augustine of Hippo, S. Chrysostom, S. Gregory of Tours, S. Isidore of Seville, and S. Boniface sadly bewailed this instability of faith. Early Christian

<sup>1</sup> By the way, the succession of the Church of England can be traced through English, Roman, and Irish channels. The Roman see itself cannot claim such a genuine history, as its succession has been long broken, and is exactly the "single diocese in Christendom whose succession, from the very first, is a maze of doubt, confusion, and irregularity, and where such proof (*i. e.* of lawful possession of office without any legal flaw or break in its transmission to the Pope) is consequently unproducible" (*cf.* Dr. Littledale's *Reasons*). The Bishops of the Anglican Communion derive their spiritual descent through Archbishop Laud, and derive through him the three successions—English, Irish and Italian (see Note A. in Denny's *Anglican Orders and Jurisdiction*, S.P.C.K.).

writers speak of the "abominations of the Gentiles," deeds of witchcraft, incantations, suballigaturæ, etc., which had the merit of martyrdom. "Thou hast fallen," wrote the glorious Augustine, "thou hast fallen into a sore disease, and there are present many who would force thee to relieve the malady, some by incantations, others by ligaturæ<sup>1</sup> (περιάμματα), some by other means. Through the fear of God thou hast borne up nobly and with constancy, and wouldst choose to suffer anything rather than endure to commit any act of idolatry. This wins the crown of martyrdom" (*Hom.* iii. 5). It is curious to note that such heathen customs were superseded by others but little removed in character. Christians, instead of bearing the insignia of heathen magic, carried about with them relics supposed to possess virtue. Although the ligaturæ of bones or herbs applied to any mortal thing, man or beast, were forbidden by canons and denounced<sup>2</sup> as "snares and deceits of the old enemy," relics or girdles, and handkerchiefs which had been placed on relics, were carried about the body and used as charms. Amongst the offenders were many eminent personages.<sup>3</sup>

During the yellow plague, many people fled from

<sup>1</sup> Ligaturæ, ligamenta, ligamina, alligaturæ, or suballigaturæ were amulets or phylacteries *bound* (ligatæ) or attached to any part of the body of man or beast, in the hope of averting or driving away evil (Scudamore).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Council of Tours, 813.

<sup>3</sup> e. g. Cuthbert, Germanus of Auxerre, Avidius, Willehad of Bremen, Gall, and a host of North-country Churchpeople.



the mainland to the small islands, believing that the contagion could not extend beyond nine waves from the land, as the sea acted as a disinfectant.

Amongst the distinguished sufferers in the North were Boisil, Cuthbert, Ethelhun, Egbert the priest, and the brethren of Jarrow. Boisil died from it when he had just finished reading the Gospel of S. John with Cuthbert, in whose behalf the community devoted a whole night to prayer. On hearing this, the next morning he took his staff and shoes, exclaiming that it was "impossible for God to disregard their prayers." Cuthbert attempted to walk, and from that time his strength increased. The priest Egbert, a noble Northumbrian, who with Ethelhun was in the monastery of Rathsmelsigi (probably near Drogheda), also recovered, whilst his companion died after giving this assurance to Egbert.

At Jarrow, Bede, then a boy, and Ceolfrid were the only inmates who could sing the service, which Bede tells us was his daily duty, in addition to the study of Holy Scripture and the observance of regular discipline.

Bishop Tuda died in 664, and was buried at Pegnaeth, probably Finchale, on the north bank of the Wear, a place rendered famous by the memory of S. Godric.

On the death of Tuda the see of Lindisfarne was temporarily abandoned. In 665 the see of York was restored, Wilfrid being consecrated bishop. Cuthbert became Prior of Lindisfarne.

## WILFRID, 665

(CONSECRATED BISHOP OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS WITH  
HIS SEDES AT YORK)

Birth—At Lindisfarne—Lyons—Rome—Returns to Northumbria—Ripon—Ordained priest—Synod of Whitby—Consecrated bishop in France—Chad (Ceadda) consecrated—Wilfrid retires—Archbishop Theodore “the Philosopher”—Chad retires—Progress and improvement in Northumbria—Wilfrid restores the church at York, and Ripon—Hexham—Death of King Oswy—Egfrid and Etheldreda—The gathering storm—Rupture—Wilfrid’s appeal to Rome—Journey thither—Neustria and Austrasia—Offered the see of Strasburg—Pope Agatho—Northumbria—The King’s contempt for the papal decree—Ermenburga—Wilfrid imprisoned—Intercession of Ebba—Wilfrid liberated—A wanderer—Welcomed in Sussex—Builds monastery at Selsea—Benedict II. confirms Agatho’s decision—Theodore’s attempts at reconciliation—Wilfrid again in Northumbria—Hexham—More difficulties—Goes into Mercia—Council of Swine’s Path—Archbishop Berthwald—Wilfrid in Friesland—In Rome—Pope John VI.—Wilfrid’s sickness at Meaux—The Archangel Michael—Wilfrid at Bardney, and Ripon—Death of Aldfrid—His character—Adamnan’s gift of “The Holy Places”—Eadulf—Osred—Synod near Knaresborough—A Compromise—Death of Wilfrid—His remains—Miracles.

WILFRID was born about 634, and is said to have been of noble birth. He left his home in Bernicia at an early age on account of the harshness of his stepmother, and went to the Northumbrian court.

Oswy's Queen, Eanfleda, seems to have used her influence in Wilfrid's behalf, and obtained admission for him into the monastery of Lindisfarne, his father consenting.

Great things were expected from the intelligent youth. Not only did his natural gifts augur for his future greatness, but, what was considered to be of greater importance in those times, the brilliant illumination of the house by supernatural light at the time of his birth was deemed a prophetic symbol of his magnificent future, and the belief was verified.

Wilfrid was about fourteen when he entered Lindisfarne, and for four years he studied in that island-school and learnt all that could be taught there. Amongst his accomplishments may be mentioned his ability to repeat S. Jerome's version of the Psalter by heart.<sup>1</sup>

Wilfrid's thirst for more knowledge, and his natural inclination to rove abroad, prompted him to obtain assistance and permission to visit the Continent. He had heard a good deal of Rome, and to Rome he wished

<sup>1</sup> Bede, writing of Aidan, says—"The brethren of Lindisfarne were bound to employ themselves either in reading the Scriptures or learning the Psalms. This was their daily work" (iii. 5). The practice was general. Gregory the Great ordered the deacons from country cures to be examined as to how many psalms they could say by heart (Eales). Jerome's psalter was used. The Churches of Britain and Ireland have always clung to Jerome's works and practices. S. Columbanus in a letter to Gregory the Great argues strongly in support of Irish customs. "The Western Churches, meaning those of Britain and Ireland, will not agree to anything contrary to the authority of S. Jerome" (Lanigan, quoted in King's *Primer*, p. 257).

to go. He was a second Ninian, travelling from the north of Britain to the capital of Western Christendom in search of knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

Queen Eanfleda encouraged him in his desire, and gave him a letter to her brother Erconbert, King of Kent. Wherever Wilfrid found influential friends he stayed, sometimes to his own disadvantage, as we shall see in the later pages of this book. He remained a year in Kent, at Canterbury. Undoubtedly the time was profitably spent, and the traditions and associations of the city duly appreciated.

There was another student in Kent at the same time, Benedict Biscop, who travelled with Wilfrid as far as Lyons. There again he remained whilst his companion pushed on towards Rome. Annemundus,<sup>2</sup> the Archbishop of Lyons, is said to have been captivated by his accomplished and affable guest, became attached to him, and tried to induce him to remain by offering to adopt him as his son, give him his niece in marriage, and

<sup>1</sup> Ninian's journey to Rome would be in the latter part of the fourth century. At Rome he was regularly instructed in the Christian Faith and the mysteries of religion. Was consecrated bishop by the Pope. From Gaul he procured masons to build a church of stone, an unusual thing amongst the Britons. He is said to have divided the country into ecclesiastical districts, such as he had seen in Italy, though the unsettled state prevented its continuance. It is probable that he introduced the monastic system into Northern Britain. The succession of bishops from Ninian entirely died out, and a new succession originated in 731.

<sup>2</sup> Annemundus was brother of Count Dalphinus (Mabillon, *Ann. Bened.* i. 425-438; quoted by Besant in *Dict. Ant.*). Alban Butler says that Annemundus was the surname of S. Delphinus, and that he was put to death by order of Ebroin, at Challons, in 658.

to settle him in Gaul as governor of an extensive province.<sup>1</sup>

Having resisted these inducements, Wilfrid set out for Rome, where he studied under Archdeacon Boniface, who introduced him to Pope Eugenius I.<sup>2</sup> Wilfrid's short residence in Rome did much to mature his abilities. There he saw the world, for Rome was the world in miniature. A man of Wilfrid's temperament and aspirations would be dissatisfied with the Northumbrian style of living, its churches, and its "barbarism." Although the imperial city had been shorn of much of its grandeur, and many ruined temples and palaces whispered the tale of their former glory; he found culture, art treasures, and opportunities there for reflection at the tombs of the martyrs.

<sup>1</sup> Dean Hook, quoting Eddius, says that Wilfrid had a son. Whether he was born in wedlock is a question. The silence of Eddius on the subject of marriage is accounted for by bearing in mind that to canonise a married clergyman would have been contrary to the prevalent opinion which was in favour of a clerical celibacy long before it was compulsory. It is probable that Wilfrid married during his long residence in France. That portion of Wilfrid's life is mystified by Eddius in an extraordinary manner. He speaks of a Bishop of Lyons who did not exist, and rescues his hero from French influence by a miracle, which represents as a relentless persecutor a Queen of France, whom the French regard as a great supporter of Christianity, and a saint (*Lives Abs. Cant.* p. 139). As Eddius is acknowledged to be unreliable, why attach any importance to this statement? Wilfrid had an *adopted* son named Edwald—hence probably the confusion. A remarkable coincidence with the above statement respecting Queen Baldhild is that Ermenburga, Wilfrid's persecutor, is also spoken of as a saintly woman, and earned the title of "Aga Domini" (*cf.* Bates, *Hist. Northumberland*, p. 67).

<sup>2</sup> Eugenius was consecrated before the martyrdom of Martin I. He was therefore a doubtful pope.

Wilfrid, on his homeward journey, called again at Lyons. During his absence his friend Annemundus had incurred the displeasure of the Queen Baldhild, widow of Clovis II., and was condemned to death. The generous and impulsive Wilfrid offered to die in his stead, but was not permitted to do so.

On his return to Northumbria (658) Wilfrid became the friend and tutor of Alchfrid, sub-King of Deira, a generous prince, who gave him land at Stamford<sup>1</sup> for a monastery, and soon afterwards Ripon, which had been occupied by Celtic monks, many of whom retired, like Colman and his Lindisfarne monks, on account of the change of discipline. Thus Wilfrid had an opportunity of superseding the Columban Rule by the Benedictine.

Wilfrid was subsequently ordained priest by Agilbert, a French bishop, who had had the oversight of the West Saxons from 650 to 664, and for whom he acted as interpreter at the Synod of Whitby, already recorded under the life of Colman.

On the death of Tuda, Colman's successor, Wilfrid,

<sup>1</sup> Prior Wessington says Stanford, or Stamford in Lincolnshire, but Dr. Smith does not think that it could be, as Alchfrid, King of Northumbria, could not give it away, and suggests Stamford Bridge in Yorkshire (note *Vit. Wilfrid.* Edd.: Rolls Society). Stainforth is said by some to be the place referred to. As Egfrid, Alchfrid's predecessor, won a greater part of Lincolnshire from Mercia, why should he not be able to give it away? When Theodore divided Wilfrid's diocese he consecrated Eadhed for Lindissi, and he first resided at Sidnacester, near Gainsborough, but after Wulfere recovered Lindsey, he retired to Ripon (Alban Butler). In authorised lists of the Bishops of Lindisse, Ethelwin appears as the first (680).

probably at the suggestion of Alchfrid,<sup>1</sup> was chosen bishop. He was called Bishop of York rather than Bishop of Lindisfarne, which for fourteen years was included in the diocese of York. This prejudice against Celtic bishops prompted him to refuse consecration at their hands. He went to Compiègne in France, where he was consecrated by Agilbert, assisted by twelve other prelates, who carried the newly consecrated bishop in procession seated on a chair of gold. This would be about the beginning of the year 665.

Wilfrid did not return to his diocese for some time after his consecration, and during his absence the ill-feeling which had been long smouldering burst into a flame. Wilfrid's fondness for Rome and Roman usages was a sore point with the Scotie Churchmen, who had conformed to the decision of the Whitby Council, and they prevailed upon Oswy to make another appointment. Thereupon Chad, Abbot of Lastingham, was chosen and consecrated Bishop of York, which was again becoming a place of importance, by Wine, Bishop of

<sup>1</sup> As Alchfrid sent Wilfrid to the King of the Galliaë, who should cause him to be consecrated about the same time as Oswy sent Chad into Kent to be consecrated, some think that a division of the huge northern diocese was then contemplated by the two kings. When Wilfrid returned Alchfrid was dead. The popular opinion due to Eddius that Chad was consecrated in opposition to Wilfrid is probably an exaggeration of facts. Chad was not the man to lend himself to such a proceeding. Bede does not imply any such purpose. It has been suggested that Wilfrid was to be consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne, but the Gallican bishops "tricked" Oswy. When he became sole King of Deira and Bernicia he may have seen fit to alter the plans for a division of the diocese.

Winchester, who was the only prelate at that time who had been consecrated according to Roman ritual, and two British bishops who still followed the customs and usages of the Celtic Church. After consecration Chad returned to his diocese, and zealously devoted himself to the duties of the episcopal office, making York his residence.

Great must have been Wilfrid's vexation when, upon his return, he found his see ruled by another, and one who was attached to Celtic customs! However, he quietly retired to his monastery at Ripon, seldom leaving it except to perform episcopal functions in Mercia.

In 669 the truly venerable Theodore was sent by Pope Vitalian as Archbishop of Canterbury. Theodore was accompanied by Hadrian, head of a Neapolitan monastery, and Benedict Biscop, who happened to be in Rome at that time. Theodore was some time in making his way to Britain. On his way he was entertained by Agilbert, who probably informed him of the sad state of the Church, and the necessity of an immediate extension of the episcopate. Once on British soil Theodore lost no time in becoming acquainted with his new country and its people. Making his way northwards he visited Chad, who for three years had ruled the Church of York. Theodore informed him that his consecration was not in due form. Chad replied that he never considered himself worthy of the office, and would most willingly resign. Chad's meek answer touched Theodore. If



Chad had been a man of like temperament to Wilfrid, or Columba, Theodore's conduct would have met with contemptuous resentment. However, Chad retired to Lastingham, and when there was an opening in Mercia he became Bishop of the Mercians, the Middle Angles, and the men of Lindsey. Theodore did not commit sacrilege by reordaining him, but confirmed his ordination by the imposition of hands.

On Chad's retirement Wilfrid again became head of the diocese. He lost no time. He was naturally active and energetic. The experience of recent years had taught him valuable lessons, and he had much lost ground to recover. He was unremitting in his labours, which, together with his exceptional natural gifts, raised him to a position which he well deserved.

He had decided—boasted—that he would raise the Church in Northumbria out of its “barbaric” condition. He called to his aid music, art, and eloquence. Travel had enlarged his mind. Abroad he had seen the Church services conducted in reverent and dignified manner; he had seen magnificent temples erected to the honour and glory of God, and they were adorned with beautiful paintings; he had heard His praises chanted in tones which excelled the Northumbrian mode.

Wilfrid's great soul burned within him. He was on fire to imitate and reproduce these excellent customs and practices in his native land. Means were soon forthcoming. The best talent he could obtain was

secured. Architects, stone-masons, artists, and glaziers came over the seas to assist him in his laudable work. From the kingdom of Kent he obtained instructors in Church music. Truly there had been many isolated attempts to improve matters, but it was reserved for Wilfrid to fire the impulse to necessary and most desirable changes. His position as Bishop of York secured him that deference which accepted the reforms. His saintly predecessors—though worthy and admirable bishops—were untravelled men of cramped and stunted ideas. They were contented with the manners and customs of their spiritual fathers of Iona. They had not seen better things.

One of the first of the works undertaken by this little group of capable men was the restoration of the church at York. Years of neglect had brought it to a dreadful condition. Roofs and windows were in a sad state of decay. Wilfrid “was grieved in his spirit” (*Eddius*) at the sight, and lost no time in restoring them. A good roof of lead was put up, the windows were glazed, the walls were cleaned and white-washed, the altar was re-furnished—and the building, which had for long been the home of birds, was again made fit for divine service. He received many gifts for his church, including grants of land for its endowment.

Wilfrid then devoted his attention to church building. Ripon—once the home of Celtic monks, and the place where Cuthbert is said to have entertained an

angel unawares—received his early attention. With the help of his skilled architects and workmen a magnificent structure was erected “from the foundation.”

In 675 (September 24) Theodore called a Synod of Bishops at Hertford.<sup>1</sup> Wilfrid, “the bishop of the race of the Northumbrians,” was absent. Perhaps this was significant, but he had his “proper representatives” there. The Celtic clergy were not invited. Ten articles were selected from canons of the holy Fathers and agreed upon. As reference may be made to them from time to time, they may be quoted here. The canons with others had been approved by the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). The ten were sufficient for the time and the need of the English Church.

1. Uniformity in keeping Easter on the Sunday after the full moon.

2. No bishop should invade the diocese of another.

3. Bishops should not interfere with monasteries or their property.

4. Monks were not to leave their monastery without the abbot's consent.

5. Clergy were not to wander into another diocese, or be received in another diocese, without letters from their bishop.

6. Bishops and clergy were not to officiate in a strange diocese without the bishop's consent.

7. A yearly synod on August 1st should be held.

8. Bishops not to prefer themselves above others from ambitious motives: time and order of consecration should be observed with respect to rank.

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<sup>1</sup> Hertford claimed by some to be Thetford, Axdulf's royal city. The question is discussed in Blomefield's *Hist. Thetford*, p. 24.

9. Number of bishops to be increased owing to the increase in the number of the faithful.

10. Only lawful marriage should be allowed: divorce to be allowed only in the case of fornication: those divorced not to marry again.

At Hexham Wilfrid, then forty years old, also built a church, which for architectural grandeur is said to have had no equal on this side of the Alps. It took four years to build—674 to 678. Eddius confessed his inability to describe its magnificence with justice. The church was dedicated to S. Andrew, and was built upon land granted by Etheldreda (674) to Wilfrid, which was part of her dowry, and included the historic Heavenfield, where Oswald the sainted king vanquished the pagans. It is probable that the Bishops of York based their claim to Hexham on this grant. Wilfrid dedicated the church to his own patron, S. Andrew, at whose altar in Rome he had frequently prayed, and from whom he craved an increase of wisdom and intellectual powers. S. Andrew's, on the Coelian Hill, had another fascination for Wilfrid—it was the home of Paulinus, the first Roman missionary to Northumbria, and in Alcuin's day his name was inscribed on the walls of the monastery as one of the most famous inmates.

Great changes occurred within a few years from the restoration of York Minster and the completion of Hexham.

King Oswy died in 655, and was succeeded by his son Egfrid, who married Etheldreda, an East-Anglian

princess who was under a vow of virginity, which she maintained during her alliance with Egfrid.

For some time a warm friendship existed between the new King and the Bishop. Egfrid assisted Wilfrid in his great undertakings. But the crisis came, and Wilfrid lost the King's favour. Etheldreda and her vow were obstacles to a succession. Wilfrid took the Queen's side, and would not hear of the violation of her vow. A divorce followed, and in 672 the Queen entered the nunnery of Coldingham.<sup>1</sup> Egfrid, whose marriage with Etheldreda became void in canon law when she became a nun, soon afterwards married Ermenburga,<sup>2</sup> sister-in-law of Cetwin, King of Wessex. Wilfrid disliked the marriage, and the antipathy was reciprocated. Just as Wilfrid's patron, the Bishop of Lyons, fell under the displeasure of the widow of Clovis II., so his young friend fell under the displeasure of Egfrid's queen. She probed the old wound in her husband's heart. He gave way, and evil days were in store for Wilfrid. The princely grandeur of the Bishop of York, his host of retainers, his costly vessels of gold and silver, his ex-

<sup>1</sup> Ebba, Egfrid's aunt, was Abbess of Coldingham when Etheldreda took the veil. Thomas, a monk of Ely in the reign of Henry II., alleges that her husband made an attempt to carry her off from Coldingham, and that she was obliged to seek safety elsewhere for a time. She subsequently became Abbess of Ely.

<sup>2</sup> Bede on *S. Mark X.*, on *Divorce*. "There is one carnal cause, fornication ; there is one spiritual cause, to enter a religious body. But there is no cause, in all the law of God, for marrying another woman while the one put away still lives." Wilfrid does not seem to have taken exception to Egfrid's "marriage" with Ermenburga.

travagant mode of living, his influence over the people, and his wealth, assured his humiliation. The Queen saw in him more than the magnificent prelate—the King's rival; and to Theodore similar fears of rivalry have been ascribed. The storm gathered, and the end seemed to be near. It came in a way little expected.

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, again came northwards (678), bent upon the division of Wilfrid's huge diocese. He was well received by Egfrid, and being a man of discrimination saw that Wilfrid's unpopularity at court favoured his designs. It is not recorded that he ever suggested a division to him. Instead of one bishopric there were to be four—York, Hexham, Lindisfarne, and Whitherne. Such a division implied a division of Church property, which of course irritated him, and he resented this high-handed policy and intrusion. He complained to the King, who firmly and decidedly replied—"We have no fault to find with thee, but we shall not change what we have done." Wilfrid knew that there was no appeal in this land beyond the King's word. Theodore was responsible for the rupture, and Theodore had been sent by the Bishop of Rome. He would therefore appeal to him for justice. Nor did Wilfrid swerve from his resolve. Ridicule and opposition were powerless to divert him from his purpose. Without delay he set out for Rome, accompanied by a number of companions. The malice of his foes dogged his way. As he passed through the

dominions of the Frankish King of Neustria, a plot to rob and disable him failed. The similarity of the name of Winfrid, a Mercian bishop who was in Neustria at the time, with that of Wilfrid, led one of the King's officers to injure the wrong man. Wilfrid set sail, and a tempest drove him on the coast of Friesland, where he was well received by Adalgis (Adelgisus), whom he converted. The King's conversion was followed by that of numbers of his people. The Neustrians having discovered their mistake and the whereabouts of Wilfrid, made overtures to Adalgis to surrender him, but he contemptuously declined. It is interesting to note, by the way, that the Frisians were under many obligations to English missionaries. Wilfrid's efforts were followed by Willibrord, Winifred (Boniface), and others.

Within a year Wilfrid was at the court of Dagobert II., King of Austrasia, whom he had befriended during his exile.<sup>1</sup> Dagobert showed his gratitude by princely hospitality, and by refusing to listen to the overtures for Wilfrid's destruction which were repeated by Ebroin, and by loading him with presents. Learning the reason of his journey, he offered him a home amongst his people and the see of Strasburg, which Wilfrid declined. When he set out again Dagobert commended him to

<sup>1</sup> DAGOBERT was an exile in Ireland for eighteen years after the death of his father Sigebert III. During the anarchy which followed the death of Childeric II., Wulfoald the mayor asked Wilfrid to fetch Dagobert over from Ireland, and send him on to his native country. This he did, and he was set up as king. Dagobert was murdered in 678.

the King of the Lombards, Berchtar, at Pavia, to which city a century later the body of the illustrious Augustine of Hippo was translated by Luitprand.

In the summer of 679 Wilfrid reached Rome,<sup>1</sup> where he was received with marked kindness by Pope Agatho, who had also received by messenger Theodore's version of the dispute. A council was held to consider the matter—and decided in Wilfrid's favour. He was to be reinstated. His extensive diocese was to remain as before, but he was to select, with the help of a council to be summoned at York on his return, suffragans to assist him, and they were to be consecrated by Theodore. Those already consecrated by him were to be regarded as intruders.

Thus Theodore's autocratic conduct was rebuked whilst the desirability of a division of the diocese and

<sup>1</sup> Wilfrid's appeal to the Bishop of Rome was a thing unheard of before. Britain was never subject to the see of Rome, for it was one of the dioceses of the Western Empire, and had a primate of its own. There was no rightful appeal beyond the Primate, *i. e.* Theodore himself. The Bishop of Rome was never patriarch of Britain. The British bishops declared to Augustine that they were under a metropolitan of their own—the Bishop of Caerleon, and that they knew nothing of the Bishop of Rome as an ecclesiastical superior. Pope Urban II. at the Council of Bari accounted S. Anselm of Canterbury as his own compeer, and said he was the Apostolic and Patriarch of the other world (*Guil. Malmesbur. de Gestis Pontif. Ang.* p. 223). Now the Britons having a primate of their own (which is greater than a metropolitan), yea, a *Patriarch*, if you will (*ibi* Cantuariæ prima sedes archiepiscopi habetur, qui est totius Angliæ Primas et Patriarcha, says William of Malmesbury, in *Prol. lib. i. de Gestis Pont. Ang.* p. 195), he could not be appealed from to Rome, by S. Gregory's own doctrine, *Epist.* xi. 54: *Patriarcha secundum canones et leges præbeat finem.* Bp. Christopher Wordsworth (*Theoph. Ang.* p. 142).



the necessity of additional episcopal oversight was admitted. The decision was fair and impartial. Wilfrid did not return home immediately, but lingered in Rome, and at Easter (680) he took part in a council summoned to consider the Monothelite heresy. Wilfrid spoke and signed the acts in the name of the northern Church. Shortly afterwards Theodore, who was not present at the council in Rome, held a council at Heathfield (Hatfield) to denounce the heresy.

Wilfrid's triumph was short-lived, for when he returned to Northumbria he found that matters had taken an unexpected course. He produced the papal mandate to King Egfrid and the Witan. It was asserted that Wilfrid had procured the document by unfair means—and more, that his act of appealing to the Pope and his council was essentially an act of rebellion. The Pope's decision was treated with contempt. Wilfrid was imprisoned at Bromnis (possibly either the Roman Bremenium or Byrness) in a region of thick mists, where he restored the wife of the jailor Osfrid. The relics and treasures which he had collected during his sojourn in Rome were seized, and his hated adversary, Ermenburga, carried one of them—a reliquary—about with her as a talisman. Confinement failed to humble Wilfrid. A change of prisons and a sterner discipline at Dunbar also failed to subdue him. He was a man who felt that opposition strengthened him and his cause. The man who had stood by his

friend and benefactor Annemundus, the Archbishop of Lyons, in his brave contentions, and had offered himself as a substitute when that prelate was sentenced to death—the man who as an exile faced the perils of missionary work amongst pagans and barbarians—was not the man to be irresolute under injustice. As he had devoted his best energies to the extension of his Master's kingdom during his exile, allowing little time to brood over his troubles and misfortunes, so during his imprisonment in his native land he never for a moment lost heart and gave way; his indomitable spirit never failed him, and the dungeons resounded with God's praises sung to the Bishop's favourite tones.

Egfrid visited him in prison, hoping to find a submissive and penitent subject. He was disappointed. Conditional offers of being reinstated in a portion of his diocese were scornfully rejected by Wilfrid, who would not repudiate the authority of the papal decree.

During Wilfrid's confinement the Queen was taken seriously ill. Ebba, Abbess of Coldingham, ascribed the sickness to the anger of Heaven, and suggested to her nephew Egfrid that his wife would not be restored unless he liberated Wilfrid. He was liberated. The precious relics which had been used as playthings and charms were restored to him, but he was unforgiven and banished. Wilfrid journeyed toward the South. He might have rested and done some useful work in Mercia, but Egfrid's vindictive conduct and intimidation

compelled the prince to dismiss him. From Mercia he went into Wessex. There was no rest for him there. Ermenburga's sister was queen and shared her implacable hatred.

The uncertainty of princes' favours, hostility to a prince's whims, and a rash appeal to a foreign council under an Italian prelate made Wilfrid the Magnificent a homeless and wandering beggar! One cannot fail to sympathise with him in his humiliation.

God had work for him outside the diocese of which canonically he was the ruler. It was not in the magnificence of Ripon or Hexham—in the host of servants—in architectural triumphs—in art treasures—that Wilfrid was to shine. His natural fondness of display and grandeur were to be eclipsed by his heroic and self-denying missionary enterprises. Driven from Northumbria, from Mercia, and from Wessex, he was received and welcomed in Sussex.

Ethelwalch and his queen were Christians, but the people were pagans. The Faith did not take root, and it was reserved for Wilfrid to invigorate the weak and sickly Christians and to convert unbelievers. In Sussex he came across some Irish monks who had established themselves at Bosham near Chichester. Famine and distress were rife, and, what seems remarkable for the times, the people were entirely ignorant of the simplest means of preserving life. It is almost incredible that fishing was unknown, and that Wilfrid and his com-

panions were the first to teach them, and so preserve the lives of the famishing people. They did not quickly forget, but, drawn to the new missionary by cords of gratitude, they listened to his message. His labours were crowned with success. After careful instruction numbers were baptised, and on the eventful day the "heavens opened" and the long-hoped-for rain fell upon the parched land. Ethelwalch gave Wilfrid land at Selsea, and a number of serfs belonging to the land. These Wilfrid liberated, and upon the land he built a monastery. He was practically missionary-bishop of the South Saxons, and for five years performed episcopal functions amongst them. He did not altogether forget the see of York, of which he was the rightful ruler. His heart was there, though, like a wise man, instead of bewailing his misfortune he applied himself to heroic and arduous work.

Wilfrid whilst a fugitive in Sussex became acquainted with another exile, Cadwalla, a West Saxon. In 685 when Cetwin died he succeeded to the throne, and made an attack upon Ethelwalch, who fell in battle. Cadwalla determined to regain possession of the Isle of Wight, which had previously belonged to Wessex, but had passed through Wulfere to Ethelwalch. Cadwalla succeeded, and in fulfilment of his vow made Wilfrid an extensive grant of land, and the people were converted through the efforts of Wilfrid and his associates.

During his exile great changes had taken place in Northumbria. Theodore's scheme had been carried out, and several bishops had been consecrated for various sees.

Theodore, autocrat as he was, had his good points, and one was that he saw the good points in his opponent. Few men could observe the heroic and self-denying work of a man like Wilfrid without some feelings of remorse. Even the knowledge that he had done a noble work where others had failed, and had planted the Cross in heathen lands, would be poor satisfaction to the conscience of a man who had acted in an arbitrary and imperious manner towards so excellent a prelate. Theodore was not too proud to make amends. He was close upon ninety when he extended the hand of friendship to Wilfrid, who was not too haughty to accept it. They met in London, and were reconciled (686). Wilfrid's biographer, Eddius, says that Theodore expressed a wish that Wilfrid should succeed him as Archbishop of Canterbury. Wilfrid's heart was in the North. Theodore became peacemaker between Wilfrid and his late opponents. He wrote to Aldfrid, who had succeeded Egfrid as King of Northumbria, to Ethelred, King of Mercia, to Elfleda, Abbess of Whitby, beseeching them to receive him kindly, and to remember his noble work in heathen lands, and that he had been deprived of his possessions. Theodore's letter had the desired effect. Wilfrid was well received, lands and monasteries were

restored to him, and he was received at the court of Northumbria by Aldfrid.

Wilfrid then occupied the see of Hexham, which was vacant on his return to Northumbria through the death of the blessed Eata. Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, shortly afterwards died, and Wilfrid (687) administered that see. Twelve months afterwards he succeeded Bosa at York, and when Eadhed retired from Ripon he had both York and Ripon. Wilfrid therefore had a good part of his old diocese. Even in old age his love of power and ambition was vigorous, and his sense of justice forced him into conflict with Aldfrid over certain lands which had been taken from the church of S. Peter at York. He opposed the appointment of another bishop to Ripon, and refused to accept the decrees of Theodore regulating the division of the diocese. As Theodore and Egfrid were both dead Wilfrid probably thought that it would be an easy matter to regain all that he had lost. He was disappointed. Neither Berthwald, Theodore's successor, nor Aldfrid, Egfrid's successor, would hear of it. King and Bishop quarrelled.

Wilfrid again left Northumbria and found a temporary home in Mercia, where Ethelred received him with honour "out of reverence for the apostolic see."<sup>1</sup> Eleven

<sup>1</sup> Anciently the title of "Apostolic See" was applied to those sees which had been founded by Apostles personally, or where they had exercised their office of preaching. The Latin of the title is *Sedes Apostolica*, and as there is no "article" in that language, Rome, taking

years he remained and acted as Bishop of Leicester, 691 to 705. Bosa was reinstated at York. To terminate the disputes and discord Aldfrid, in conjunction with the Archbishop of the southern province, summoned a council (702) at Swine's Path, near Austerfield. A number of bishops were present, and Wilfrid was amongst those invited. He was pressed to accept the decrees of Theodore, but he flatly refused as a higher authority had pronounced against Theodore. Wilfrid was then asked to accept the decision of the president, Archbishop Berthwald. He declined to accept any decision inconsistent with that of Rome. Threats of deprivation were unavailing. He still protested against injustice. They offered to give him Ripon, but under conditions which virtually made him the King's prisoner there and would have been deprivation. That suggestion was too much for Wilfrid. He could not refrain from recounting his services to the Church in Northumbria, and in return they desired to deprive him of his rights! Wilfrid was Wilfrid still. He would

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advantage of the ambiguity which results from this, interpreted it; where applied to herself, to mean "*The Apostolic See*," as if the title belonged to her alone—a course of procedure in which she was materially assisted by the fact that she was the sole "*Apostolic See*" in the West, whereas in the East there were many (Denny, quoting *Barrow*, etc., *Anglican Orders and Jurisdiction*). The city of Rome commanded the veneration of Christendom, for the ashes of S. Peter and S. Paul, the "most valiant warriors of the happiest of battlefields," as S. Columbanus says in his *Epistle to Boniface IV.*, reposed there; and the early bishops of Rome generally mentioned both together, not giving precedence to S. Peter as in later years. Pilgrims and scholars went to visit the tombs of both of the Apostles.

never submit to such injustice. He would again appeal to Rome.

This announcement made the King furious. He would there and then have thrown the defiant prelate into prison had not the bishops interposed. Wilfrid returned to Mercia under the ban of excommunication. He was not friendless, and the sentence of excommunication was treated with indifference. Some of his supporters set out for Rome with him, others remained at home loyally watching over his interests and praying for his safe and triumphant return. Aldhelm of Malmesbury exhorted them by letter to remain constant.

Wilfrid visited Friesland, the scene of his early missionary labours, *en route*. His interest in that work never abated, notwithstanding his arduous duties and trials. He sent out good men as bishops, amongst them Suidbert and Ostfor. Wilfrid arrived in Rome in 704. The Pope, John VI., ordered another inquiry, which lasted several months. The result was that the former papal decrees were upheld, and the Pope wrote to Aldfrid, Ethelred, and Berthwald on the matter, and suggested an amicable settlement in synod to be summoned by Berthwald, and if that failed a larger council at Rome should be called.

Wilfrid, sick at heart, would have remained in Rome but the Pope pressed him to return home. On his way he was attacked with a dangerous sickness at Meaux



in France. For four days and nights he was in a trance, in which he saw S. Michael the Archangel, who told him that he would live four years longer, and bade him build a church in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This injunction he obeyed by building a chapel on the south-east side of his magnificent church at Hexham. On regaining strength he set forward on his journey. On arriving in Kent he sent messengers to Berthwald, who received him kindly and expressed his willingness to use his influence in Wilfrid's favour. After this reconciliation the aged prelate wended his way towards Mercia, where great changes had taken place during his absence. Ethelred was no longer king but Abbot of Bardney. His nephew Cenred reigned in his stead. His name was added to the long list of good men who had resigned their crowns for the tonsure and had placed their sceptres at the feet of the humble Nazarene. Wilfrid and Ethelred met at Bardney; it was an affectionate meeting, the Abbot hailing the pope's mandate with joy and receiving the relics which Wilfrid had brought from the holy city with tender veneration.

Wilfrid then desired to see Aldfrid, and sent messengers into Northumbria to acquaint him of his return and crave permission for an interview. Aldfrid absolutely refused to accept the papal decrees. He lived only a few months longer. On his deathbed it is said that he regretted his harsh conduct towards Wilfrid,

and asked his successor Eadulf to accept the decrees.<sup>1</sup> He paid no heed to this advice. When he came to the throne his treatment of the aged prelate exceeded Aldfrid's in severity. Wilfrid had hoped that the words of peace would bring him rest, and he ventured as far as his much-loved Ripon. Under the King's threat he was obliged to leave in great haste.

By the death of Aldfrid the Church in Northumbria lost a good friend and patron. Wherever he had lands he bestowed sufficient for the foundation and endowment of religious houses. His opposition to Wilfrid can be easily understood. The King gave expression to the national feeling. Independence of all foreign interference was a distinguishing trait in the national character. The King favoured men of the Celtic school. He had been educated at Iona, and its traditions were not easily eradicated. The saintliness and unselfishness of its scholars could not be gainsaid, and his opinions expressed themselves in the episcopal appointments during his reign. The bishops were Celtic by birth and education, yet they were aware of the importance of uniformity in discipline and practice.

The King himself was an ardent student of the sacred Scriptures and a patron of learning, and well deserved the title "most learned in the Holy Scriptures." He greatly appreciated Adamnan's gift of the important

<sup>1</sup> This is unlikely, as Eadulf was an usurper.

work "On the Holy Places," a work compiled at Iona from materials supplied by Arculf, a Gallican bishop and traveller of some repute, who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Britain and had found his way to Iona, where Adamnan took down on waxen tablets his accounts of the places he had visited, which included the Holy Land, Damascus, Constantinople, Alexandria, Crete, Sicily, etc. The keenness of Adamnan in taking advantage of Arculf's presence to enrich the "library" at Iona and to spread knowledge of distant places proves that literary hunger in those days was very keen. Travelled men were regarded with great respect, and their information was equally welcome. Hence the hearty reception given to relic-vendors apart from their wares. A copy of this work upon "Holy Places" written in parchment was presented to the King during one of Adamnan's visits to Northumbria. Aldfrid generously allowed "lesser persons to read the book which was so beneficial to many, and particularly to those who, being far removed from those places where the Patriarchs and Apostles lived, know no more of them than what they learn by reading." Bede used the book extensively when writing on the same subject (see *E. H.* Bk. V. c. 15, 16, *et seq.*).

Adamnan's work, *De Locis Sanctis*, was the cause of a controversy, in recent years, between Casaubon (a Protestant) and Gretzer (a Jesuit). The former regarded Baronius as credulous in accepting the account of Arculf,

who was vindicated when Gretzer published the text of Adamnan at Ingolstadt in 1619.

Adamnan twice visited Northumbria between 686 and 688. His first visit was to obtain the release of certain captives who had been carried off by Berctus, a Northumbrian general, when he attacked the Irish at Magh Bregh during the reign of Egfrid. Adamnan's mission was successful, and about sixty captives were liberated and allowed to return to their own country. The second time Adamnan came into Northumbria he visited several of the monastic houses, amongst them Lindisfarne and Jarrow. Although the community of Iona had lost some of their interest in Lindisfarne on account of the brethren adopting certain Roman discipline, they still retained many things in common, and fondly cherished the memory of the sainted founders. At Jarrow Adamnan's frontal tonsure caused a good deal of criticism. He returned to Iona with new ideas, and endeavoured to persuade his brethren to adopt certain Roman customs, but they stoutly refused, and for many years strenuously resisted all overtures in that direction, considering themselves bound to the rules and customs of their beloved founder.

Shortly after this Eadulf<sup>1</sup> was succeeded by Osred,

<sup>1</sup> A monument bearing the name of Eadulf was found in the ruins of S. Woden's church at Alnmouth in 1789. It is supposed that he was slain there. The inscription records names of the mason and letterer as well as Eadulf's. "The grave of Eadulf. . . Myredah wrought me, Hludwig made me." Another reference to Eadulf is on the Wensley stone (see the Bp. of Bristol's *Theod. and Wilf.* pp. 288, 289).

then a boy of much promise, who subsequently became a ravisher of nuns and doer of evil deeds generally. A synod was summoned on the banks of the Nidd, near Knaresborough, to consider, and, if possible, settle Wilfrid's case. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Berthwald), the King, Bishops Bosa, John, and Eadfrid, and the Abbess Elfleda were present. The Archbishop and the Abbess were anxious for peace. Berthwald explained the state of affairs to the council, and referring to the latest decision of Rome, said that either Wilfrid must be restored to his former position, or, if no settlement could be made and the intruding bishops and their friends still protested, they must go to Rome and abide by the decision of the papal court. The laity were inclined to accept the Pope's decree, but the bishops, whom it affected most, were opposed to it. A compromise was effected: Wilfrid was to have Ripon and Hexham. Before the members of the synod separated the Blessed Sacrament was received, and the kiss of peace was given.

Wilfrid's end was fast approaching. At Hexham he was again attacked with the sickness which prostrated him at Meaux. He recovered sufficiently to make the journey to his beloved Ripon (709), where he disposed of his earthly possessions, dividing his money into four portions—one fourth each to the churches of S. Mary and S. Paul in Rome; to the poor; to the monasteries of Hexham and Ripon; and to his friends and com-

panions in tribulation. He appointed Tathbert as his successor at Ripon. The same year, at the request of King Coelred, he visited several monasteries in his kingdom of Mercia. When he reached Oundle in Northamptonshire he was again seized with sickness, and on October 12, 709, he fell asleep in his 76th year.

Wilfrid undoubtedly had faults, but they were overwhelmed by virtues. Perhaps he was arrogant and imperious, hasty in temper, firm and unyielding, ostentatious and pretentious, but yet he was a man of sterling worth. He well knew "how to abound and how to be abased," and he came out of most of his conflicts with honour. Whilst an exile he was employed in good works. He was cheerful in adversity; remarkable for self-sacrifice and Christian heroism. He faced the perils of robbers and assassins, spent his money in liberating slaves and in building churches, was patient under injustice, bore no ill-will towards his persecutors, and raised no clamour. Wherever Providence placed him he worked with a holy purpose. If he gave to Rome "her first foothold in the North of England" by appealing to the Bishop of Rome, he may have done so without the least desire of enthralling the English Church. He appealed to the fount of *Theodore's* "authority," and he won his appeal. The Roman Church of the seventh century cannot be compared to the deceptive and domineering Church of later ages. S. Gregory the Great had not been long dead, but his

spirit survived. If Wilfrid is branded as a papist, Theodore was an anti-papist, but neither term applies to the case. It is remarkable that Wilfrid, occupying so exalted a position in the North of England, never applied to Rome for the pallium. His ostentation counts nothing. When the body of the magnificent prelate, S. Thomas à Becket, was found to be covered with weals of self-mortification and the irritation of a hair shirt, the monks of Canterbury exclaimed—"See what a true monk he was, and we knew it not."<sup>1</sup> And of Wilfrid the Magnificent it can also be truly said, *autem ecce alteram!*

Wilfrid's mortal remains were interred at Ripon. Bede (*E. H.* v. c. 20) gives the epitaph over his shrine:—

"Here the great prelate Wilfrid lies entomb'd,  
 Who, led by piety, this temple rear'd  
 To God, and hallow'd with blest Peter's name,  
 To whom our Lord the keys of Heaven consign'd.  
 Moreover gold and purple vestments gave,  
 And placed a cross,—a trophy shining bright  
 With richest ore—four books o'erwrought with gold,  
 Sacred evangelists in order placed,  
 And (suited well to these) a desk he rear'd,  
 (Highly conspicuous) cased with ruddy gold.  
 He likewise brought the time of Easter right,  
 To the just standard of the Canon Law :  
 Which our forefathers fix'd and well observed,  
 But long by error changed, he justly placed.  
 Into these parts a numerous swarm of monks  
 He brought, and strictly taught their founder's rules.

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. Cant.* p. 100.

In lapse of years, by many dangers toss'd,  
At home by discords, and in foreign realms,  
Having sat bishop five and forty years,  
He died, and joyful sought the realms above ;  
That, bless'd by Christ, and favour'd with His aid,  
The flock may follow in their pastor's path."

(Bohn's translation.)

Relic-hunters did not leave Wilfrid's remains undisturbed, portions were conveyed to York and Canterbury. At York one of his arms was encased in silver. The monks of Canterbury claimed that [some of] his remains were translated to their monastery in the time of S. Odo, and deposited under the high altar in 959. They are supposed to have been enshrined by Lanfranc, and deposited on the north side of the altar by S. Anselm, and now repose near Cardinal Pole's monument. Eadmer's *Life of S. Wilfrid* was written to do honour to him as one of the saints of Canterbury. Miracles are ascribed to his relics.



## EATA, 678

Pupil of S. Aidan—Abbot of Melrose, and Prior of Lindisfarne—Character—Synod of Twyford-on-Alne, A.D. 681—Further division of Wilfrid's diocese—Egfrid's death—Tumbert, Bishop of Hexham, deposed, and Cuthbert consecrated in his place—Eata and Cuthbert exchange sees—Eata at Hexham—Eata's death, 686—Attempt to carry off his relics.

EATA is said to have been one of the twelve Northumbrian boys whom S. Aidan received “to be instructed in Christ,” when he was consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne. Eata was Abbot of Melrose when Cuthbert was admitted into that monastery, though absent at the time. He was also Prior of Lindisfarne, and had spent some time at Ripon with other members of his community until they returned to the North, in consequence of certain disputes and troubles connected with their observance of Celtic customs. Archbishop Theodore consecrated him Bishop of Bernicia, to be ruled either from Lindisfarne or Hexham.

At Rome Eata was regarded as an intruder into Wilfrid's diocese, and notwithstanding his piety was threatened with excommunication. He was a “reverend

and meek man." Cuthbert owed much to his example and manner of life as well as to his instructions in the sacred Scriptures. In obedience to his request Cuthbert composed a Rule to be observed by the Anglo-Saxon monks at Lindisfarne, to which Rule that of S. Benedict of Nursia was afterwards added.

The Synod of Twyford-on-Alne was held in this episcopate (685), when Tumbert, Bishop of Hexham, was deprived for disobedience. Cuthbert was prevailed upon to accept the honour, and was consecrated at Easter the same year.<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards King Egfrid was slain at Nectansmere, and buried at Iona.<sup>2</sup>

At Cuthbert's consecration an arrangement was made with Eata by which Cuthbert became Bishop of Lindisfarne and Eata retired to Hexham, where he soon afterwards (Oct. 26, 686) died of dysentery, and was buried on the south side of the cathedral. A stone chapel was afterwards erected over his tomb. Bede describes him as the "gentlest and simplest of all men."

The body of Eata quietly rested in the grave until 1113, when Thomas, Archbishop of York, proceeded to Hexham with a large body of clergy for the purpose of removing his remains to York. A MS. *Life of Eata* in the library of the Dean and Chapter of York gives an account of the failure to accomplish their purpose through the intervention of Eata himself. The Arch-

<sup>1</sup> See lives of Tumbert and Cuthbert.

<sup>2</sup> See the co-temporary lives SS. Cuthbert and Wilfrid.

bishop and his company reached Hexham at nightfall, and, much fatigued with their long journey, retired to rest. At midnight the Archbishop, in his sleep, saw Eata standing before him arrayed in his episcopal robes and holding in his hand his pastoral staff. "What is this," said the dead bishop, "you are intending to do? You have come hither to transfer me from the place of my repose to a church which has no part in me, a thing which I know has not been enjoined you from above. I tell you that you shall suffer the punishment due to your presumption." And without further parley he raised his pastoral staff and began to accompany his threats with blows soundly laid on. The Archbishop awoke, and howling aloud for fear roused his clerks, who were sleeping in the same room with him, and, frightened almost out of his senses, told them with faltering voice what he had seen. The result was the departure of the whole company next morning, leaving Eata undisturbed in his grave (*quoted by Raine*).

Many such stories were circulated from time to time with a double purpose, to extol the fame of the departed saint and to restrain unscrupulous persons from robbing graves. Platina, in his *Life of Pope John IV.*, tells of the appearance of S. John Baptist to a priest who opened the tomb of Rhotaris, intending to pilfer. The saint threatened him with death if ever he entered his church again. Fructuosus, after his martyrdom, is said to have appeared to certain Christians who had appro-

priated some of his ashes in the amphitheatre, and commanded them to be restored without delay, and buried together. A disciple of Simeon Stylites, when relic-hunting, is said to have seen his master move, and quickly retreated!

## CUTHBERT, 685

Birth and occupation—Aidan's soul—The aureole—Cuthbert enters Melrose—Removes to Ripon—Returns to Melrose—Pestilence—Death of Prior Boisil—Cuthbert elected prior—Charms—A preacher—Takes charge of Lindisfarne—His patience with the discontented brethren—Retires to an islet—At Coquet Island—Chosen Bishop—Consecrated at York (685)—His ascetic tendencies—Preaching tours—Farne—His last sickness—Last instructions—Death (687)—Death of Herebert—Cuthbert's character—Reputed miracles during his life—Miracles after death—"Appearances"—His dislike for the society of women—Women forbidden to enter his churches—Fascination of Hagiology—Danes at Lindisfarne—Flight of the monks with S. Cuthbert's body—Seven years' wanderings—Coffin opened, body found "incorrupt"—Flight from Durham—Return—Translation of relics—Incorruptibility questioned—Suppression of Durham Abbey—Desecration—Grave opened in 1827—Dr. Raine's account of the proceedings—S. Cuthbert's cross, ring, etc.—Roman Catholic fictions—Is incorruptibility a proof of holiness?—No miracles now performed at his grave.

CUTHBERT, patron of the ancient diocese or bishopric of Durham, was the sixth Bishop of Lindisfarne. He occupied the see for the short period of two years. Although he has eclipsed the great and glorious Aidan, and is regarded as the chief of the Bishops of Lindisfarne, this pre-eminence is due to the large number of miracles attributed to him both during his life and

after his death. On this account, he is sometimes called the Thaumaturgus of Britain. Aidan, like Boniface, was never anxious to appear as a worker of miracles.

The birthplace of Cuthbert cannot be positively stated. Both Ireland and Scotland claim him, the Irish maintaining that he was of royal blood, his father being Muiardach and his mother Sabina, a king's daughter;<sup>1</sup> and the Scotch hold the opinion that he was of humble origin and born in the neighbourhood of Melrose, where he tended his father's flock and frequently met with the brethren of the monastery who taught the people of the district the Christian Faith. The monks of Durham clung to the idea of his royal parentage. Cuthbert's occupation was conducive and helpful in fostering a devotional spirit which in later years developed to an extraordinary degree. He heard of the wonders wrought by the hands of holy men whose lives had a powerful influence over his own. His companions, who noticed his quiet demeanour, frequently told him, perhaps in jest, that he was drifting to the monastic life, and that he would

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note the difference of opinion as to the advantages of royal birth of neophytes. Some consider it to be a greater sacrifice for one nobly born and accustomed to luxuries to turn ascetic. In the early days of Christianity, many kings and princes were glad to seek refuge in the monasteries from the persecutions of their rivals. Blessed Margaret of Hungary considered royal parentage to be a misfortune. The *Irish Life of S. Cuthbert*, written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, was written with the express object of giving him noble ancestry.

some day be a bishop. It is recorded that a child once rebuked him because he lacked that seriousness of demeanour which was befitting one eventually to be advanced to episcopal dignity. The prophecy was repeated in later years by Boisil just before his death.

A life of prayer and meditation had a peculiar fascination for Cuthbert. He would spend large portions of the nights in prayer on the Lammermuir hills. On one occasion during his midnight orisons he beheld the soul of Aidan as a globe of fire borne up to heaven by angels. In Christian Iconography this globe of fire which enveloped souls is in fact an aureole. The soul of S. Martin in the representation of his apotheosis at Chartres is also carried up in an oval aureole, red, or the colour of fire. On the ch<sup>â</sup>sse of Mauzac in Auvergne, the soul of S. Calminius, under the form of a naked infant, is borne away by two angels. The soul is inscribed within a perfect circle, cut into four lobes; a hand, the Hand of God, appearing against a cruciform nimbus is extended from the clouds to receive the approaching soul (Didron's *Iconography*).

Visions of this description were frequently reported in early times. S. Benedict saw the soul of Germanus, Bishop of Capua, carried to heaven by angels in a globe of fire; the blessed Egidius, ravished in the spirit, saw the soul of Consalvus freed from its fleshly encumbrance, and shining with a dazzling radiance, carried by angels across the immensity of space; Egbert the priest saw

the soul of Bishop Cedda descend with angels to take the soul of Chad into the heavenly kingdom (Bede, iv. 3). S. Kentigern is also said to have seen the soul of S. David, patron of Wales, borne by angels. Sometimes these assertions were exaggerated with effect and made to serve political purposes. One of S. Wilfrid's biographers says that the saint saw the soul of his enemy King Egfrid borne to hell by two demons whilst he was celebrating the Eucharist in Sussex! (*Eadmer*); and S. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, beheld Cuthburga, sister of Ina, King of Wessex, and foundress of Wimborne, in his vision of purgatory: her head and shoulders radiant, but the lower part of her body in the flames (*Bates*). The vision of the departure of Aidan's soul decided Cuthbert's career. Without delay he went to the monastery of Melrose to seek admission. Boisil, the Prior, was the first to meet him, and turning to one who stood by said—"Behold the servant of the Lord." The Abbot, Eata, was away at the time, but upon his return Cuthbert was received into the community. For about ten years he remained under that hospitable and holy roof, following the "three labours" of prayer, work, and study. Cuthbert was fortunate in having two good men like Eata and Boisil as his superiors. Upon the excellent model-life of the former Cuthbert fashioned his own.

Some years after Cuthbert had been admitted into the community Eata and several brethren from Melrose



amongst them Cuthbert, took charge of the monastery at Ripon, where they remained until troubles arose upon the Paschal question, Celtic usages, and discipline, when they returned to the North, and Wilfrid, who had won the King to his side, was made Abbot of Ripon.

Shortly after their return to Melrose the place was visited by a dreadful pestilence which carried off Bishop Tuda, Prior Boisil, and many others. Cuthbert was also attacked but recovered. Boisil, before his death, sent for him and told him that he had but seven days to live, and that he must make the most of the short time that remained to learn as much as he could from him. They read together S. John's Gospel in seven parts, and meditated upon each part. Cuthbert was a sedulous student of the Holy Scriptures, which seem to have been the chief study at Melrose, which had a reputation at that time for missionary zeal and monkish discipline rather than any special scholastic work.

Cuthbert was elected prior in place of his dear friend and master. After the appointment he made many excursions into the surrounding country, preached in remote hamlets and visited the sick in their own homes. When the rude people, who had but a superficial knowledge of Christianity, were sick, some relapsed into paganism or sought the help of charms or enchantments which were reputed to possess healing properties. This seems to have been a difficulty with which most early

Christian teachers had to contend. If the harvests were bad, or plague raged, the people attributed their calamities to their new religion—this was not by any means peculiar to any locality, but was general. In other parts of the world, as in Rome for example, people who had not embraced Christianity found a suitable opportunity of attacking the “new religion” on these grounds.<sup>1</sup>

Cuthbert seems to have exercised great influence over the people—his eloquence, his angelic countenance,<sup>2</sup> his earnestness and “strong cryings and tears” moved the people to repentance and confession. “Cuthbert was so skilful an orator,” says Bede, “so fond of enforcing his subject, and such a brightness appeared in his angelic face, that no man present presumed to conceal from him the most hidden secrets of his heart, but all openly confessed what they had done, because they thought that guilt could not be concealed from him, and thus wiped it off by worthy fruits of penance as he commanded them” (*E. H.* iv. 27).

Twelve or thirteen years after Cuthbert had entered the monastery of Melrose he was sent by Eata, who ruled both houses, to take charge of Lindisfarne. It was no easy task and required much tact and patience, as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Augustine's *City of God*, and many works of the Christian Apologists; also my *Life of Tuda*, and note.

<sup>2</sup> This description often occurs in Hagiology. It recalls the Holy Spirit's description of Moses—ἀστέριος. The patriarch Seth, according to Apocryphal writings, had a radiant face like Moses, and was thence styled Divine (*Sanctorale Catholicum*, p. 5).

the brethren were unsettled on account of certain changes respecting the form of tonsure and the observance of Easter, and would not submit to regular discipline, or to the new code of monastic laws which Cuthbert had drawn up at the suggestion of Eata—rules which probably superseded, or supplemented, those used from the days of Aidan and received by him from the mother Church of Iona.<sup>1</sup>

Cuthbert assuaged them by his gentle and patient conduct, which brought about a better feeling. Frequently he was bitterly reproached, and when wearied by their murmurings he would calmly dismiss the assembly and walk out. Repeatedly he made the same proposals, and by dint of patient perseverance attained his object. He bore all his adversities, vexations, and disappointments bravely and cheerfully, “the inward comfort of the Holy Ghost enabling him to despise outward trials.”

For twelve years Cuthbert ruled the community at Lindisfarne as prior, and at the end of that time, the desire for solitude increasing, he obtained the consent of his superior to become a solitary. At first he retired but a short distance from the monastery, maybe to the islet now called S. Cuthbert's Island, and afterwards to the Farne,<sup>2</sup> hallowed by the vigils and prayers of

<sup>1</sup> Cuthbert is reputed to be the author of a set of injunctions entitled *Ordinationes suæ ecclesiæ*, and beginning *Prima regula est de Domino*. He also wrote *Præcepta vitæ regularis* (Bale, quoted by Raine).

<sup>2</sup> The island of Farne is one of a group six miles from Holy Island,

Aidan the first bishop, and more remote from the eyes of men far out in the middle of the sea—an island, says Simeon of Durham, ill-suited for a dwelling, being without water, fruits, or trees, [yet Cuthbert] by his prayers miraculously drew water out of the rocky ground and corn from the hard earth!

Some distance from the Farne was Coquet Island<sup>1</sup> where Elfreda, sister of King Egfrid and successor of S. Hilda as Abbess of Whitby, had an interview with Cuthbert, who prophesied that the King would reign but one year longer and would be succeeded by his illegitimate brother, Aldfrid. When Elfreda informed Cuthbert that her brother desired to make him a bishop, and asked whether he would accept that dignity, she received the reply that he was unworthy of so high a dignity, nevertheless he could not escape what had been decreed by the Supreme Ruler, who would free him from the burden after a short time, and perhaps after not more than two years would send him back to his former solitude and quiet.

Not long after this Tumbert, Bishop of Hexham, was deposed at a synod held at Twyford (684),<sup>2</sup> and

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and was supposed to be haunted by devils. Ethelwold afterwards for twelve years inhabited this hermitage, which had fallen into decay. Cuthbert had filled the holes with hay and clay. Ethelwold begged a calf-skin from the community, and nailed it to the planks to keep the wind and rain out. Felgeld attributed miraculous powers to this skin.

<sup>1</sup> There was a small Benedictine monastery on Coquet Island as early as 684.

<sup>2</sup> Twyford, probably Alnmouth. The river Aln was the boundary

Cuthbert was selected as his successor at the request of King Egfrid, who, with Trumwin, Bishop of the Picts, and others, sought Cuthbert on Farne island, and on bended knee pressed him to accept the dignity. He consented, and an arrangement was made with Eata by which Cuthbert became Bishop of Lindisfarne and Eata went to Hexham.

Cuthbert was consecrated the Easter following, at York, by Theodore and six other bishops. The proceeding was uncanonical.

Cuthbert, during the two years of his episcopate, although faithful and zealous in his duties, never overcame his great longing for solitude and the practice and habits of the anchorite. The ascetic life was his ideal. His diocese was huge, yet he was unremitting in his labours of preaching, confirming, ordaining, and in consecrating churches. It would seem that again, as in his early days when prior, he gladdened the people with his angelic countenance and comforting words. "His discourse was so pure and explicit, so serious and so candid, so full of sweetness and grace when he spoke on the ministry of the law, on teaching of faith, on the virtue of continence, and on the discipline of justice. To every person he gave varied and suitable instructions because he always knew beforehand what to say and to whom, when and how

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between Dio. Hexham and Lindisfarne. See *Life of Tumbert*, under "Bishops of Hexham."

to say it. Above all things it was his especial care to join fasting, prayer, and watching with the study of the Scriptures; his memory, keeping always in mind the canons and enabling him to imitate the virtue of the saints, stood him in the place of books. He fulfilled all the duties of brotherly love towards his brethren, and practised humility and that super-eminent charity without which every other virtue is nothing. He took care of the poor, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, harboured strangers, redeemed captives, defended widows and orphans in order that he might merit the reward of eternal life amongst the choirs of angels with our Lord Jesus Christ" (*Lindisfarne Monk*, p. 122, quoted by Eyre).

During his preaching tours the people cut down the branches of trees to make tabernacles for their Bishop and his companions, and it is related that he would not leave a hamlet without inquiring if there were any sick who needed his presence and consolation. He displayed the same anxiety for the spiritual welfare of his people up to the time of his retirement to Farne to prepare for death.

After Christmas 686 he took his farewell of the brethren of Lindisfarne. As he entered the boat they shed many tears, and asked him when he would return. Their distress increased by his answer—not until they carried back his dead body. The brethren continued to visit him on his remote island, where he hospitably

received them. On one occasion when he offered them food, they declined it as they had taken some with them. A storm arose and prevented their return, and on the seventh day, when Cuthbert entered the hospitium, observing that the refreshment had not been touched, he gently rebuked them for their disobedience and ordered them to cook it and eat it immediately. When they had done this the wind abated! Towards the end of February 687 Cuthbert was seized with his last sickness. He was fully conscious that his end was approaching, and he earnestly prepared for his departure. The brethren from Lindisfarne and his bosom-friend Herefrid visited him.

Cuthbert gave instructions as to the burial of his body in the place near his oratory towards the south, over against the eastern side of the Holy Cross which he had erected. He also told them to place his body in the sarcophagus which the venerable Abbot Cudda had given him, which was to be found under the turf on the north side of the same oratory. He further directed them to wrap his body in the linen winding-sheet sent by the Abbess Verca which he had preserved for that purpose. Some days later, at the earnest entreaty of some of the monks, Cuthbert consented to be buried in their own church, for which privilege they thanked him on bended knees. He then stated that it was his wish that his body should rest where he had fought his humble fight for the Lord: where he wished to finish

his course, and whence he hoped to be lifted up by the Just Judge to obtain a crown of justice. Moreover, he thought that it would be more advantageous to them also that he should repose there on account of the fugitives and criminals who might flee to his body for refuge, inasmuch as he had the character of being a humble servant of Christ: and they might often think it necessary to intercede for such with the secular powers, and so might have trouble on account of his body being with them.

Cuthbert's desire to be alone increased with his illness, and at first he would not allow any of the brethren to remain with him, so they returned to Lindisfarne. For five days after this a terrible storm prevented communications between the islands, and caused the brethren much concern. When the storm abated they put to sea and made all speed to the dear Bishop.

On reaching the Farne Herefrid found that Cuthbert had crawled from his cell to the hospitium lest the monks on their return should visit him in his cell. He had been in the hospitium for five days and five nights without moving, and was worn out with pain and abstinence. Herefrid, referring to this solitude, says that all was ordered by God, who wished to cleanse His servant from every stain of earthly weakness, and, to show his adversaries how weak they were against the strength of his faith, kept him aloof from men and put him to the proof by bodily sufferings and still more



violent encounters with the ancient enemy. The brethren, except Herefrid, could not remain with the Bishop, but he at once sought means of relieving his sufferings. Having warmed water he washed one of Cuthbert's feet which had an ulcer from a long swelling and required attention. Herefrid also warmed a little wine and begged the Bishop to take it. Then they sat down together, and Herefrid expressed his grief, seeing that Cuthbert's sufferings had been so great, that he did not allow one of the brethren five days before to remain to wait upon him. Cuthbert replied that "it was done by the providence and will of God in order that he might be deprived of the society and aid of man and suffer somewhat of affliction."

Cuthbert at length consented to have two of the brethren to wait upon him—Bede (not the Venerable Bede) and Walstod, who conveyed him back to his cell. This Walstod had for years suffered from incurable dysentery, but by touching the Bishop his complaint was healed.

Cuthbert's last words of exhortation, heard only by few, were recorded to be repeated to the brethren of his community, and by them to be handed on through the centuries :—

"Have peace and divine charity amongst you : and when you are called upon to deliberate on your affairs be very careful that you be unanimous in your plans. Let there be mutual concord between yourselves and all other servants of Christ, and do not despise

others who belong to the Faith and come to you for hospitality; but receive them familiarly, and kindly entertain them and speed them on their journey; by no means esteeming yourselves better than the rest of those who partake of the same Faith and manner of life. But have no communion with those who err from the unity of the Catholic peace either by not celebrating Easter at the proper time, or by their wicked lives. And know and remember that if of two evils you are compelled to choose one, I would much rather that, taking up out of the tomb and bearing away with you my bones, you would leave this place to reside wherever God may direct you than consent in any way to the wickedness of schismatics, and so place a yoke upon your necks. Study diligently and carefully. Observe the Catholic decrees of the Fathers, and practise with zeal those institutes of the monastic life which it has pleased God to deliver to you through my ministry: for I know that although during my life some have despised me yet after my death you will plainly see what sort of man I was, and that my doctrine was by no means worthy of contempt" (Bede's *Life*).

By way of comment: these "last words" bear the impress and polish of a monkish scribe. That S. Cuthbert used some such words cannot for a moment be doubted; but there seems to be a little "bias" running throughout—perhaps a remembrance of the opposition he had endured at the hands of the Lindisfarne community and other advocates of Celtic usages and discipline. The "history" of the wanderings of the monks of Lindisfarne with their precious treasure shows how faithfully they observed these injunctions.

It was about midnight on Wednesday, March 20, 687, that Cuthbert fell asleep, fortified by the Blessed Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood. Herefrid at once informed the two brethren who were waiting out-

side the cell that their master had entered into his rest, and they, by a preconcerted signal, flashed the news by torchlight to Lindisfarne, where a brother was on the look-out. The brethren were at matins, and were saying the psalm, "O God, Thou hast cast us out,"—pregnant and prophetic words!

The monks, following S. Cuthbert's instructions, wrapped his body in the winding-sheet, placed it in the coffin, and conveyed it to Lindisfarne—where, with much ceremony and many tears, they placed it on the right side of the altar.

On the same day (March 20) S. Cuthbert's friend Herebert, an anchorite of Derwentwater, fell asleep. This was the fulfilment of his own request made during Cuthbert's last visit to Lugubalia (Old Penrith, Carlisle)—"I beseech you, by our Lord, not to forsake me; but that you remember your most faithful companion, and entreat the supreme Goodness that, as we served Him together upon earth, we may depart together to see His bliss in heaven. For you know that I have always endeavoured to live according to your directions, and whatsoever faults I have committed, either through ignorance or frailty, I have instantly submitted to correction according to your will." The Bishop prayed and received an assurance that they should both die on the same day. "Rise, brother, and do not weep, but rejoice," said the Bishop, "because the Heavenly Goodness has granted what we desired." Cuthbert and Herebert, "most

faithful companions," met once a year by arrangement and entertained each other with the delights of the celestial life.

Cuthbert owes his popularity to his biographers and to the incorrupt condition of his corpse. His ideas of saintliness and self-mortification were common, and he was no great exception to many earnest-minded men who followed the extravagant fancies of the age. Had he lived in other days his Christian life would have expressed itself under different circumstances. The same may be said of most anchorites and recluses. His early environment had much to do with his works in later years. Born in a district where the people had been traditionally taught that the hills, rivers, and fountains were peopled by spirits, it was not difficult for a man of Cuthbert's temperament to believe that demons wrestled with men and that he possessed the spirit of divination.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cuthbert foretold the death of King Egfrid. Leaning on his staff by the Roman well at Carlisle, he suddenly exclaimed, "It is over," referring to the death of the King, who at the same hour was slain in battle some miles distant. Benedict XIV. (*Heroic Charity*, vii. 3, vi. 9, etc.) quotes similar cases as illustrations of the expedition with which things done in remote places are made known elsewhere, as in the case of Apollonius, who, says Philostratus in his *Life*, cried out at Ephesus that Domitian was then killed at Rome, from which he acquired the reputation of divinity so far as to know and foretell future events. A similar circumstance is related by Gellius of a certain Cornelius, and of another person by Ammonius. A pious belief is that angels made such communications; sometimes the devil. Joan of Arc knew at the very hour that the French were routed, notwithstanding her absence from the scene of action. S. Moling, Bishop of Ferns (died c. 696), foretold the death of Fianachta--"At this

To this "Thaumaturgus of Britain" are ascribed the power of vanquishing the devil, who had artfully set a hut on fire in order to divert the attention of the people to whom he was preaching; and of arresting an eagle in its flight, so that the bird deposited a fish which it was carrying on the bank of a burn, to be divided into three portions, one portion for Cuthbert's companion, one for himself, and the other for the bird; the recovery of a servant of Sibba after a third draught of water blessed by Cuthbert; the stilling of storms; drawing water from the rock; turning water into wine, or giving it the flavour of wine, at the Abbess Verca's monastery; and the restoration to health of the wife of Hemma after being sprinkled with water which he had blessed, are also ascribed to him.

Cuthbert's relations with dumb animals have been regarded as miraculous, and as a sign of his dominion over the fowls of the air and the fishes of the sea. On expostulation ravens ceased to pick his crops and to strip the thatch off his shelter; sea otters were seen by a monk to lick the saint's feet, as if to warm them, whilst he was kneeling in prayer on the beach, and that when he blessed them they left him.<sup>1</sup>

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moment, brethren, Fianachta, the glorious King of Temoria, is beheaded." S. Edward the Confessor was believed to be gifted with a prophetic spirit. He declared the death of Sweyn, King of Denmark, who was drowned whilst embarking to invade England.

<sup>1</sup> These attentions of the dumb animals have been given as proofs of his saintliness, and are said to have been the means of winning converts. To this day S. Cuthbert's "geese" allow themselves to be

Cuthbert's miracles did not cease at his death. Bethwegen, the hosteller, recovered from a serious illness ; a possessed boy, afterwards a monk, was cured of palsy ; a paralytic recovered the use of his limbs ; and the eyesight of a young man endangered by a swelling under the eyelid was preserved by touching the relics. The Abbess Elfleda was cured of an infirmity by wearing Cuthbert's girdle, and one of her nuns is said to have been cured of an intolerable headache by touching it.<sup>1</sup>

Not only was Cuthbert supposed to work miracles after death, but he is said to have "appeared" to several, *e. g.* in the guise of a pilgrim to King Alfred, who was regarded as his especial favourite.<sup>2</sup> When the monks attempted to cross over to Ireland with "the Treasure," and the Book of the Gospels was lost in the sea, in a dream S. Cuthbert directed Hunred to search for it near Whitherne, where it was found ; Edwin, a monk of the new monastery at Winchester, after a vision in which S. Cuthbert appeared to him, made a pilgrimage to Durham, and wrote to his bishop respecting it.<sup>3</sup> S. Cuthbert is said to have appeared to Edgar,

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petted by visitors to Holy Island. Professor Stellar, James Campbell and William Collins give many instances of the affection of tamed otters in Northumberland. Mahommedan literature is not without similar instances of conversion, *e. g.* that of Wathek Ebn Mosapher (Ockley's *Hist. Saracen Empire*). The dodge of Abdelmumen Aben Ali, who had taught a lion to lick his hands, secured for him the throne after the death of El Mehedi, an Arab King in Spain.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. The girdle at Toledo.

<sup>2</sup> See *Liber de Hyde*, edited by E. Edwards, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Lib. Hyd.* Introd. xcii.

heir of Scotland, and commanded him to take his banner<sup>1</sup> from Durham, and assured him that he himself would aid him in his attempt to gain the crown, whilst the saint's indignation when a farmer wished to pickle beef in his stone coffin moved him to smash it!

S. Cuthbert is said to have had a great dislike for the society of women, and various reasons have been given for his aversion, some of them weak and puerile. A

<sup>1</sup> The banner insured victory on that occasion. At a fire in Durham Castle during the episcopate of Pudsey, when the prayers of the monks and the presence of the sacred relics failed to extinguish the flames, this banner and the sacred Host were carried into the midst of the fire. For more than an hour the flames leapt about the bearer and the banner, which stayed the progress of the fire and was itself uninjured, according to the monk Reginald! The effect of this banner on battlefields was astounding! On the eve of the battle of Neville's Cross "ther did appeare to Johnne Fossour, then prior of the Abbey of Durham, a vision commanding him to taeke the holie corporax cloth, which was within the corporax, wherewith Saint Cuthbert did cover the chalice, when he used to say masse, and to put the same holie relique, like unto a banner, upon a speare point, and on the morrowe after to goe and repaire to a place on the west parte of the citie of Durham, called the Readhills, and there to remayne and abyde till the end of the said battell." Needless to say the command was obeyed and the victory won! The chalice veil was incorporated with other stuff which formed a goodly banner. According to the *Rites* the banner came into the possession of Dean Whittingham, whose wife Katherine "did most injuriously burne and consume the same in hir fire, in the notable contempt and disgrace of all auneyent and goodly reliques." The banner was also used in church processions. The banner of S. Edmund was also regarded with awe and reverence by East Anglians. Like S. Cuthbert's it was supposed to be efficacious against fires and conflagrations, and often unfurled on the battlefield. Cf. the "Vision" of S. Andrew at Antioch, when the crusaders were besieged by the Turks, to Peter Bartholomy respecting the steel head of the lance of Longinus which pierced the body of our Lord, and the promise that it should penetrate the souls of the miscreants (Gibbon's *D. and F.*, c. 58). In one of the Persian wars, as early as A.D. 590, a portrait of Christ accompanied the Roman army and gave courage to the soldiers.

story is told that a certain Pictish princess, who laid a false charge against him in his early days, was the cause of his unmitigated aversion for her sex—although he was able to vindicate his innocence by a miracle of no less magnitude than the earth opening and swallowing up the princess. On the intercession of the King with Cuthbert the saint's prayers restored her to her father. That S. Cuthbert *did* permit the society of women is beyond dispute; but they were generally women under vows. He was not a stranger at the nunneries at Carlisle, Coquet Island, and Coldingham, though it has been asserted that the irregularities in this double monastery (Coldingham) led him to the determination to repel women. At Lindisfarne there was a church for the accommodation of females, called the "Green Church" ("Grene Cyrice") because it was situated in a green field.

It is more probable that he was aware that the society of women was generally abjured by monks (*cf.* Sulpicius, *Dialog.* ii. 12), and solitaries who were constantly advised to shun bishops as well as women, because they sought to impose upon them some ecclesiastical office which would take them into the world.<sup>1</sup> S. Cuthbert seems to have followed this advice as regards both

<sup>1</sup> "It was the advice of the Fathers, an advice that is always in season, that a monk should at all hazard flee from bishops and women, for neither women nor bishops permit a monk whom they have once drawn into their friendship to remain peacefully in his cell nor to fix his eyes upon pure and heavenly doctrine by contemplating holy things" (Cassianus, quoted by Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, p. 477).



bishops and women, for although he was a bishop for a short time he accepted the office by constraint.

Churches dedicated to S. Cuthbert were supposed not to be frequented by women. This was one of the conditions laid down by the saint himself to the Pictish king, whose daughter had falsely accused him of familiarity, and he was one of the first to enforce it (Bower's *Hist. Melrose*, p. 18). At Durham this law of exclusion extended to the abbey gates and cemetery. In later years the rules were relaxed, and though women were permitted to approach nearer to the saint than before, they were punished when they transgressed the rule, as in the cases of Helisend, a servant of David's queen, and two Newcastle women, who all disguised themselves, hoping that they might evade the vigilance of the monks. Helisend wore a monkish garb, and the others male attire. Helisend afterwards repented of her "profanity" and became a nun at Elstow. The two Novocastrian women who had rashly ventured to S. Cuthbert's shrine were compelled to do penance in the churches of S. Nicholas and All Saints. Symeon gives other cases of the audacity of women being punished by Heaven. In the present cathedral at Durham there is a blue marble line and cross on the west side of the doors of the nave, which marks off the small portion of the church where women were allowed at the time of service.

Centuries have rolled by since Cuthbert died, yet his

example of self-abnegation, meekness, tenderness, and patience is held in reverent esteem wherever his name is mentioned. Apart from the inflictions of his biographers, whose exaggerated stories are offensive to his memory, he is greatly revered.

The austere lives of solitaries have had wonderful power and sway over other men's lives, especially in the ages when few paths were open to people of fervent and zealous temperament.

The stories of the lives of the saints have always had this fascination for a special class who have been so much influenced by examples as to renounce the world and seek solitude in huts built of wattles and mud, in deserts or ocean caves, and in monasteries and deserted temples. The readers of these lives, or the listeners to stories of spiritual heroism, fancied themselves hermits and monks, just as La Fontaine felt himself a poet as he read an ode of Malherbe, or as Correggio felt himself a painter as he contemplated Raphael's "S. Cecilia." The story of S. Willibrod stirred up the youthful Boniface to a magnificent missionary work ; the lives of the saints, read on a bed of sickness during weary and tedious days after the siege of Pampluna, made Ignatius Loyola a soldier of the Cross ; the story of the conversion of Victorinus the philosopher and the renunciation of S. Antony greatly influenced that of the most glorious Augustine of Hippo ; the stories of the hermits took such hold on Guthlac that he took up his abode in the Fens ; and the

story of S. Cuthbert moved Godric the pedlar and a hundred others to emulate his austerities, and Ceolwulf to resign his crown.

“Every profession has its model, says S. Jerome :—  
“The Fathers of the deserts are our models. Let the Roman generals imitate Regulus and Scipio, let the philosophers follow Pythagoras and Socrates, the poets Homer, the orators Lysias and the Gracchi,—but for us let our models and our chiefs be the Pauls and Antonys, the Hilarions, and the Macarii.”

Eleven years after S. Cuthbert's death his body was exhumed by the monks and found to be incorrupt.

When the Northmen descended on Lindisfarne and the north-east coast in 793–794 the monks were taken by surprise, and in their hasty flight were unable to remove the body of their patron. On the departure of the depredators the brethren returned to Lindisfarne, and to their great joy found that the coffin containing S. Cuthbert's body was untouched, although the church had been plundered and desecrated.

In 875, when another descent was made by the Northmen, the Bishop, Eardulph, fled with the body<sup>1</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> In obedience to Cuthbert's dying request. It was an accepted custom, where possible, to remove the bodies of saints on the advance of pagans, *e. g.* Regulus, 300 years after the death of S. Andrew, is said to have carried away his bones, or part of them. For eighteen months he sailed amongst the Greek islands, and wherever he landed he erected an oratory. The remains of Vincentius and Anastasius, Augustine of Hippo, Edmund, K. M., Martin of Tours, etc., were also removed lest they should be violated by barbarians.

Cuthbert and relics of SS. Oswald, Aidan, Eadbert, Eadfrid, and Ethelwold, together with other treasures, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, and the stone cross, which Bishop Ethelwold caused to be made as a monument to S. Cuthbert and himself. Prior Wessington says that during these wanderings S. Cuthbert ceased not to work miracles, and wherever his body rested churches were afterwards erected and dedicated to him.<sup>1</sup> Assuming that Prior Wessington was correct the late Dr. Raine, with the help of certain notices from Symeon of Durham, gives an outline of the seven years' wanderings.

From Lindisfarne the monks seem to have gone to Elsdon, thence down the Rede to Haydon Bridge, afterwards up the South Tyne to Beltingham, thence along the Roman wall to Bewcastle. Afterwards they went in a southern direction to Salkeld, thence to Eden Hall, and thence to Plumland, and afterwards into Lancashire. Next they came towards the Derwent, thence they proceeded northwards with the intention of crossing over into Ireland. The body was placed in a boat, and some of the brethren, with the Bishop and Abbot, embarked. A storm arose, and the boat was almost swamped, and the copy of the Gospels, adorned with

<sup>1</sup> Sculptured crosses frequently marked the places where the bodies of bishops rested, *e.g.* Aldhelm's body was removed from Doulting in Somerset to Malmesbury, and at the seven places where the procession halted on the way crosses were erected by order of Egwin, Bishop of Worcester, who buried him.

gold and precious stones, fell overboard. The monks then turned the helm, and they reached the Cumbrian coast which they had so recently left. After this they went northwards to Whitherne—in which vicinity the lost Gospels were washed ashore.<sup>1</sup> Then they returned southwards into Westmorland, where they stayed at Cliburne and Dufton, before crossing over Stainmore to Cotherstone in Teesdale. From Cotherstone they crossed the hills to Marske, which they quitted for Farcet and Barton. After this they migrated southwards to Craike, where it remained four months, during which time Guthred the Dane was chosen King of Northumbria, as ancient chroniclers aver, upon the nomination of S. Cuthbert himself (cf. *Raine, Boyle, Eyre*). Guthred was not ungrateful: he bestowed the territory between the Wear and Tyne upon S. Cuthbert, whose body was translated to Chester-le-Street.

In 995, being threatened with another invasion by their old enemies the Northmen, the monks fled from Chester-le-Street to Ripon, where they stayed but a few months. They returned towards Chester-le-Street; but halting at Wrðelau, near the Wear, all their efforts to move the car on which the body was placed were useless. They at once agreed that it was the will of Providence that the saint should not be taken back to

<sup>1</sup> A similar story is told by the biographers of S. Moling, whose *Book of the Epistles written by the Apostles* was washed out to sea and returned to him. S. Antony of Padua (A.D. 1200) is implored to restore lost goods.

Chester. Eadmer subsequently was informed by revelation that the body had to be removed to Dunholme. There it remained until 1069, when William the Conqueror came into the North to chastise the nobles for supporting the claims of Edgar the Atheling, and the men of Durham for their treatment of Robert Cumin, whom he had sent to keep order. The Bishop fled with "The Treasure" at the King's approach, intending to convey the body to Lindisfarne. After four days' journey they were in sight of the island, and the waters parted hither and thither that they might pass over. During their journey they had rested at Jarrow, Bedlington, and Tuggall. After a few months they were able to return to Durham. In 1093, when William de S. Carileph began his cathedral, S. Cuthbert's remains were temporarily placed on the south side of the church, and on August 29, 1104, they were translated to the feretory, and various relics which were found in his coffin—*e. g.* bones of Aidan, Eadbert, Eadfrith, Ethelwold, and the head of Ceolwulf—were removed, and placed in caskets around the shrine. On the day arranged for the removal the brethren resolved that as no one living could give them accurate information respecting the arrangement of the body, etc., they would appoint nine of their number, with their Prior, Turgot, who, after fasting and prayer, should open the coffin. On August 24, says the writer of *The History of the Translations of St. Cuthbert*, after prostrations and prayers before the coffin, they

succeeded in opening it. To their astonishment they found a chest covered with hides fastened by iron nails. From the weight and size of this chest, and various facts which presented themselves, they were induced to believe that there was another coffin within it; but fear for a long time prevented them from making the experiment. They renewed their task, and when they had succeeded in opening the iron bands they lifted up the lid. Then they saw within a coffin of wood covered with linen of coarse texture. After further misgivings they removed the lid and found another lid resting on three transverse bars. Upon the upper part of it, near the head, lay the Book of the Gospels. This lid was raised by two rings, and, removing the cloth over the relics, they perceived a fragrant odour.<sup>1</sup> The body of S. Cuthbert was found lying on its right side in a perfect state, and, from the flexibility of its joints, representing a person asleep rather than dead. The relics consisted of bones of departed saints above mentioned, those of the Venerable Bede, and others. The body was lifted from the coffin whilst the relics were removed, and it was afterwards restored. The next day the Bishop was informed of the incorrupt state

<sup>1</sup> Supposed to be a sure sign of the sanctity of the deceased. Cf. the opening the grave of Brother Merulus, one of S. Gregory's monks (*Sanct. Cath.* p. 137). When S. Stephen's coffin was opened an odour "such as that of Paradise" was perceived, and many diseases were instantly cured by it! A celestial odour "which filled the bystanders with devotion" was perceived when a chest containing the remains of certain Hexham saints was opened in 1154. Other instances abound.

of the saint's body, which he considered at the time to be incredible. The next night the body was conveyed to the middle of the choir and placed upon robes and carpets spread upon the pavement. "The outer covering was a robe of a costly kind; below this it was wrapped in a purple dalmatic, and then in linen. All these swathements retained their original freshness without any stain of corruption. The chasuble, which he had worn for eleven years in his grave, and had been removed by the brethren of that period," was preserved as a proof of incorruption. The body was then clothed with the most costly pall they had in the church, over which they placed a linen covering, and restored certain relics with it to the coffin. These relics consisted of an ivory comb, a pair of scissors, an altar of wood overlaid with silver,<sup>1</sup> a linen corporal, a paten, a chalice of

<sup>1</sup> Cuthbert's portable altar is about six inches by five and a quarter, an inch thick of oak covered with a silver plate of more recent date than the wood, which is inscribed INHONOR . . SPETRV with two of five crosses. The letters on the silver are P . . O Σ . . . Σ, probably for Petros Apostolos. O HAGIA ET ERASTE . . ., a phrase akin to the inscription on Acca's altar, has also been "read" on the remaining silver portion (see his life under "Bishops of Hexham"). Portable altars were used in missionary journeys, military expeditions, private masses, and where the altars of churches were unconsecrated. Lübke says (*Eccles. Art. in Germany*, p. 135-6) portable altars were commonly used during the whole Middle Ages. Even in the early Christian times there existed portable altars (*altaria gestatoria, viatica, itineraria, portatilia*) which could be carried about, so that the offering of the mass could be performed in any place. In the eighth century, according to Bede, the brothers Ewald had such altars in their missionary journeys. The like is related of the monks of S. Denis, who accompanied the army of Charlemagne in his crusade against the Saxons. The portable altars consist as a rule of a rectangular, generally of a precious stone—as marble, agate, porphyry,



exquisite workmanship, the lower part representing a lion in gold with an onyx stone on its back. The head of King Oswald<sup>1</sup> was also replaced; but the relics of other saints were deposited in another part of the church.

The truth of the saint's incorruptibility was challenged by certain ecclesiastics, but in the presence of Ralph, an abbot of Seez, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury, it was agreed to reopen the coffin. The word of the monks was confirmed. Subsequently the body was placed in a costly feretory,<sup>2</sup> which was destroyed about the year 1541, after the convent had surrendered to the Crown.

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onyx, amethyst—in a frame of gold or gilt copper, set with precious stones, nielli or enamels. A wooden table forms the back, which is richly adorned. The relics are under the stone slab or enclosed in the corners of the frame, etc. In 1500 an altar of S. John (Beverley) of red marble adorned with silver was preserved at York.

<sup>1</sup> In preserving the head of S. Oswald, K. M., the monks, perhaps unconsciously, observed a custom of the Church in later times. The Christian Church and religion thought but lightly of the human body, but the head was held in high estimation. "Any spot may be chosen for the interment of the trunk, when separated from the head," say the ancient liturgists, Gulielmus Durandus and John Belet, "but the head may not be buried except in holy and consecrated ground—in the church or the cemetery." The body, without the head, does not consecrate the place in which it rests; the head, without the body, sanctifies the spot immediately. In this we see the working of that spirit of Christianity which gives every honour to the head, the especial seat of the soul (see further Didron's *Iconography*, "Hist. Nimbus"). Pope Pius II. received from Thomas Palæologus (1461) the head of S. Andrew, and with great ceremony deposited it beside that of S. Peter. The head of William of York was kept in a reliquary of silver gilt and covered with jewels. The head of S. Louis at the instance of Philip the Fair was placed in La Sainte Chapelle, Paris. Many other instances testify to the above belief.

<sup>2</sup> See under "Eadfrid," in *Bishops of Lindisfarne*.

“The sacred shryne of holy Sancte Cuthbert, before mentioned, was defaced in the visitacion that Docter Ley, Doctor Henley, and Maister Blythman held at Durham, for the subvertinge of such monuments, in the tyme of King Henrie 8, in his suppression of the abbaies, where they found many worthie and goodly and rich ornaments and jewels of great value which the said church and St. Cuthbert was adorned withall, but most especialle one pretious stone belonginge to the said shrine, which by the estimate of those iij visitors and ther skilful lapidaries which they browght with them, worth in value a king’s ransome. After the spoile of his ornaments and jewells, cumming nearer to his sacred bodie, thingking to have found nothing but duste and bones, and finding the chiste that he did lie in, very strongly bound with irone, then the gouldsmith did taik a great fore hammer of a smyth, and did breake the said chiste open, and when they had openede the chiste, they found him lyinge hole, uncorrupt, with his faice baire, and his beard as yt had bene a forthnett’s growthe, and all his vestments upon him, as he was accustomed to say masse withall, and his met wand of gould lieing besid him. Then, when the gouldsmith did perceiue that he had broken one of his legges, when he did breake open the chiste, was verie sorie for it, and did cry ‘Alas, I have broken one of his leiggs.’ Then, Docter Henley hereing him say so, did caule upon hime, and did bid him cast downe his bones. Then he made him annswer again that he could not gett them in sunder, for the synewes and the skine heild it that it would not come in sunder. Then Docter Ley did stepp up, to se if it weire so or not, and did turne hime selfe aboute, and did speke Latten to Docter Henley, that he was lieinge holl. Yet Docter Henley would geve ne creditt to his word, but still did crye ‘cast downe his bones.’ Then Docter Ley maide annswere, ‘Yf ye will not beleve me, come up your selfe and se hime.’ Then dyd Docter Henlie step up to hime, and did handle him, and dyd se that he laid hole. Then he did command them to taik hime downe, and so it hapned, contrarie ther expectation, that not onely his bodie was hole and incorrupted, but the vestments wherein his bodie laie, and wherewithall he was accustomed to saie mass, was freshe, saife, and not consumed. Wherupon the visitores commaunded that he should be karies into the revestre, where he was close and saiffie kept, in the inner part

of the revestrie, tyll such tyme as they did further knowe the king's pleasure, what to doe with hym, and upon notise of the king's pleasure therein, and after, the prior and the monnckes buried him, in the ground, under the same place where his shrine was exalted under a faire merble stone, which remaynes to this day, where his shrine was exalted."

At the period of the Dissolution many relics and treasures disappeared, amongst them a gold ring set with a large sapphire (now in the possession of the authorities of Ushaw College), a gold chalice, and onyx stone, the paten, and a "metwand of gold" above referred to. The MS. of S. John's Gospel, which was not restored to the coffin in 1104, when the body was translated, is now at Stonyhurst, and the celebrated Lindisfarne Gospels is now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. Cuthbert's Feretory. "Next to these nine altars was the goodly monument of S. Cuthbert, adjoining to the quire, having the high altar on the west, and reaching towards the nine altars on the east, and towards the north and south containing the breadth of the quire in quadrant form ; in the midst whereof his sacred shrine was exalted with most curious workmanship of fine and costly green marble, all limned and gilt with gold, having four seats or places convenient underneath the shrine, for the pilgrims or lame men, sitting on their knees to lean and rest on, in the time of their devout offerings and fervent prayers to God and Holy S. Cuthbert, for his miraculous relief and succour, which being never wanting, made the shrine to be so richly invested, that it was esteemed to be one of the most sumptuous monuments in all England, so great were the offerings and jewels bestowed upon it ; and no less the miracles that were done by it, even in these latter days, as is more apparent in the history of the Church at large. At the west end of this shrine of S. Cuthbert was a little altar adjoining to it for Mass to be said on, only upon the great and holy feast of S. Cuthbert's day in Lent ; at which solemnity the prior and the whole convent did keep open household in the Fraterhouse, and dined altogether on that day, and on no day else in the year. And at this feast and certain other festival days, in time of divine service, they were accustomed to

The body remained under this marble stone until May 17, 1827, when the grave was opened in the presence of certain prebendaries and gentlemen, including the late Dr. Raine, who has left a full account of the proceedings. First of all the marble slab was removed. Then a mass of soil eighteen or twenty inches in thickness was removed. Beneath this another large

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draw up the cover of S. Cuthbert's shrine, being of Wainscot, whereunto was fastened unto every corner of the said cover, to a loop of iron, a very strong cord, which cords were all fastened together at the end, over the midst of the cover, and a strong rope was fastened unto the loops or binding of the said cords; which rope did run up and down in a pulley under the vault, over S. Cuthbert's Feretory, for the drawing up of the cover of S. Cuthbert's shrine: and the said rope was fastened unto a loop of iron to the north pillar of the feretory, having six very fine sounding silver bells fastened to the said rope, which at the drawing up of the cover, made such a goodly sound that it stirred all the people's hearts that were in the church to repair unto it and to make their prayers to God, and that holy man S. Cuthbert; and that the beholders might see the glory and ornaments thereof. Also the said cover had at every corner two hoops of iron made fast to every corner of the said cover, which did run up and down on four round staves of iron, when it was drawing, which were made fast in every corner of the marble stone that S. Cuthbert's coffin did lie upon; which said cover on the outside was very finely and artificially gilded. And also on either side of the said cover were painted four lively images, curiously wrought and miraculous to all beholders thereof. And on the east end was painted the picture of our Saviour sitting on the Rainbow to give judgment, very artificially and lively to behold; and in the west end of the said cover was the picture of our Lady, and the picture of Christ on her knee; and on the height of the said cover, from end to end, was a most fine brattishing of carved work cut throughout with dragons, fowls, and beasts, most artificially wrought, and set forth to the beholders, varnished and coloured with a most fine sanguine colour, that the beholders might see all the glory and ornaments thereof, and at every corner of the said cover there was a lock to lock it down, from opening and drawing it up" (Pugin's *Glossary*, p. 135, "Antiquities of Durham Abbey," "Rites of Durham").

slab was found, which, on being raised, was discovered to be the grave cover of a monk, turned upside down, and inscribed—

*Ricardus heswell monachus.*

The removal of this stone revealed a stone-built grave about seven feet long, four wide, and four or five deep. At the bottom of the grave was a large high coffin of oak in great decay. It was of very plain character, its only ornament being a mitred moulding round its bottom, lid, and sides. It was shaped like an ordinary chest, and was made of oaken planks an inch and three-quarters in thickness. Fixed to each side were three large iron rings, and one to each end. This was the new coffin made in 1542. When its fragments were removed, another coffin was discovered, in a still more decayed state. It was quite plain, and made of oak boards an inch thick. Clinging to it here and there were portions of a covering, which from length of time had become a white adhesive substance, and served to identify this with the second coffin mentioned in 1104, and at that time covered with skins. At this point in the investigation a large collection of human bones was found, loosely placed together at the lower end of the coffin. The decayed state of the lid of the second coffin prevented its being clearly determined whether the proper place of these bones was upon or beneath the lid. They consisted of a skull and several ribs, arms, thighs, and legs of a full-grown size; and

besides these there was the skull of a child, and numerous rib-bones of other infants. The former Dr. Raine believed to be the relics of the early bishops of Lindisfarne, which were carried thence with the body of S. Cuthbert in 875, taken from his coffin in 1104, and afterwards, till the Dissolution, preserved at his shrine. The bones of infants were possibly the same as are described in the inventories of relics preserved at the shrine as the "bones of the holy innocents." When these relics were removed the lid of a third coffin was discovered beneath them, but also in a state of extreme decay. At this point an iron ring was found, and at the lower end of the grave another full-grown skull in a somewhat imperfect state, the resting-place of which was evidently beneath the last-named lid. It may be fairly assumed that this was the reputed skull of King Oswald, which, according to both the historians of the investigation of 1104, was the only relic then replaced in the coffin of S. Cuthbert. The third coffin was also of oak, of the average thickness of three-quarters of an inch. It was of the same chest-like shape of the two already mentioned. Its lid and sides were collapsed and much broken, and the touch of time had so completely exhausted the nature of its wood that a portion ten inches long and nine broad weighed only thirteen ounces. Notwithstanding its decayed state, enough remained of this last coffin to prove that it was the one described by the historians

of 1104, and, on their testimony, the identical coffin in which the saint's body was placed in 698, eleven years after his death. To many fragments of this coffin portions of very coarse linen, which had evidently been saturated with wax, were found adhering, thus corroborating the statement of the anonymous chronicler of the events of 1104. The iron ring just mentioned may be safely identified with one of the two rings by which, according to both the historians, the lid was raised. The second ring is believed to have been overlooked amongst the mass of broken wood and bones: but the loop by which one ring had been held to the lid was found still fixed in its place. The carving with which the innermost coffin was decorated was strikingly in accord with the description given by Reginald. The external surfaces of its lid, ends, sides, and bottom, were occupied by various carvings, all of which appeared to have been cut on the surface of the wood, partly by a sharp-pointed knife or chisel, and partly by some such instrument as a gouge. A slight single line, made with the point of a knife, ran between each carving. The carvings represented human figures. Of these the heads in nearly all cases were surrounded by a nimbus. The right hand is generally elevated and laid on the breast, with the two first fingers extended in the act of benediction; and the left hand, covered by a part of the robe, holds a book. The figures were accompanied by inscriptions, cut in single straight

lines on the wood. Amongst the fragments of the coffin which were preserved were pieces bearing figures, in greater or less perfection, of S. John the Evangelist, S. Thomas, S. Peter holding the keys, S. Andrew, S. Matthew, S. Michael, S. Paul, S. Luke, the Virgin and Child, besides others which Dr. Raine conjectured to have represented S. Oswald, Our Saviour, and S. James.

When these fragments of the coffin had been removed, there appeared at the bottom of the grave a dark substance, of the length of a human body, which proved to be a skeleton lying with its feet to the east, swathed apparently in one or more shrouds of linen or silk, through which the brow of the skull and the lower part of the leg-bones projected. The bones of the feet were disjoined and fallen flat. At this point in the investigation, the whole body, lying on the bottom of the ancient coffin, by means of boards placed beneath it, was raised, without being disturbed, out of the grave. The bottom of the grave was perfectly dry, and there was not the slightest evidence that a human body had ever undergone decomposition within its walls. When the skeleton was raised from the grave, it was freed from the broken wood and dust which rested on it, but in doing this it was impossible to leave uninjured the robes by which it was protected, some of which were in such a state of decay as scarcely to endure the slightest touch. The first or outer covering had been of linen, and wherever his winding-



sheet had originally come into contact with the coffin, portions of it were found adhering to the wood in such a way as to prove that it had twice, if not thrice, surrounded the body. The robes beneath this outer covering were so decayed that it was impossible to detach them one by one, or to ascertain their respective shapes, or the order in which they occurred. Fragments of five robes were preserved. One of these is part of a robe of thin silk. The pattern is an octofoil, the centre of which is occupied by a representation of a mounted huntsman, with hawk and hound. On the border rabbits are depicted. The ground-colour of the whole is amber, and the ornamental parts are literally covered with leaf gold, of which there remain distinct and very numerous portions. A second robe, of thick soft silk, bears a pattern consisting of a circle, the border of which is occupied by bunches of grapes and pears, or some other elongated fruit, and the centre by a representation of the sea, in which porpoises are seen swimming, whilst on it ducks are floating. Above the water in each circle is a vase containing flowers and fruit. Between one circle and the next is another vase or basket of fruit and flowers, with a solan-geese on each side. The colours of this robe, red, yellow, and purple, have been brilliant beyond measure, but are now greatly faded. A third robe is of silk, of amber colour and diaper pattern. A fourth is purple and crimson in colour, and ornamented with a cross, often

repeated. A fifth, crimson and purple in colour, has a rich damask pattern in ovals, in the centre of each of which stands an urn, supported by griffins. Reginald speaks of two robes of silk being placed round the body in 1104, in place of others which were then removed. Raine identifies these with the two first described above. Upon the lower part of the breast, and amongst the folds of the very uppermost robes, a comb was discovered. It was found to be extremely fragile, and on being touched broke into many pieces, but was afterwards skilfully joined together. It is described most accurately by Reginald in his account of the proceedings in 1104.

Near the comb, but rather higher on the breast, a silver altar was found. It is mentioned by both the historians of the events of 1104. It is only of silver externally. It consists of a square piece of oak, about a third of an inch in thickness, totally covered on edge and side with a thin plate of silver, which is somewhat raised at the margin and attached to it by nails of the same metal. In the centre is a cross, the space between the arms of which is filled with a minute interlacing pattern, and in a circle round the cross is an imperfect inscription, which Dr. Raine regarded as a mixture of Greek and Latin in Latin letters. He formed the conjecture that the letters which remain formed part of the words

O AΓΙΑ ΕΤ ΕΡΑΣΤΕ

(‘O holy and beloved’), and that the concluding word might have been Trinitas or the name of a female saint. “But this interpretation, to say the least, is doubtful” (*King*). Outside the circle are the letters O H. The reverse of the altar was equally overlaid with silver, but of this the remains were very indistinct and imperfect. The greater part of the square had been occupied by a full-length figure of a priest in his robes, with an inscription, of which all that could be deciphered were the letters P . . . OS . . . S. This inscription Raine believed to have been PETROS or PAVLOS APOSTOLOS. Between the silver covering and the wood had been a composition apparently of paste or some such substance, about the eighth of an inch in thickness, which had evidently been in a soft state when the silver covering was first applied, as the parts of it which were perfect exhibited an accurate outline of the ornamental parts of the plate. This coating fell rapidly into dust. The wooden substratum had apparently itself been used as an altar before it was covered with silver. There was deeply carved upon it an inscription, of which all that could be read was

IN HONOR . . . S PETRV.

Below the letters were two crosses. There can be no reasonable doubt that this altar had been used by S. Cuthbert himself at some period of his life,

Close to the altar a small linen bag was found, which

Dr. Raine calls a burse for holding the sacramental elements. Age had rendered it brown and dusky, as if it had been tanned.

But amongst the most interesting of the discoveries were a number of the minor sacerdotal vestments, including an early stole and maniple, a maniple of later date, a girdle and two bracelets. The early stole,<sup>1</sup> though broken into five pieces, was in other ways perfect, and, as far as the gold employed in its manufacture is concerned, is as brilliant as ever. Except the borders, the whole stole is of needlework. The colours employed are crimson, scarlet, blue, green, purple, and brown, all in varied shades, and interspersed with threads of gold. The centre is occupied by a quatrefoil, enclosing the Holy Lamb, with a nimbus round the head, and about which are scattered the letters

#### AGNV DI

(‘Lamb of God’). On each side of this are several figures representing the Old Testament prophets, accompanied by their names. The prophets depicted are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Amos, Obadiah, Hosea, Joel, Habakkuk, Jonah, Zechariah, another of whom the name is lost, and Nahum. The inscriptions are not in regular lines, and are arranged in a somewhat erratic

<sup>1</sup> Etheldreda is said to have made with her own hands a magnificent stole and maniple adorned with precious stones for S. Cuthbert. It was supposed that these precious stones caused a tumour in her neck as a rebuke to her vanity in wearing costly necklaces.

way. So much of them as can be read will be best understood from the following tabular arrangement—

|                      |     |                              |
|----------------------|-----|------------------------------|
| ( <i>Isaiah</i> )    | ... | ESAIAS . . . . .             |
| ( <i>Jeremiah</i> )  | ... | . . . . MIAS PROPHET         |
| ( <i>Daniel</i> )    | ... | DANIEL PROPHETA              |
| ( <i>Amos</i> )      | ... | AMOS PROPHETA                |
| ( <i>Obadiah</i> )   | ... | ABDIA . . . . .              |
| ( <i>Hosea</i> )     | ... | OSE PROPHETA                 |
| ( <i>Joel</i> )...   | ... | IOHEL PRPHETA ( <i>sic</i> ) |
| ( <i>Habakkuk</i> )  | ... | ABABACVC                     |
| ( <i>Jonah</i> )     | ... | IONAS PROPHE . A             |
| ( <i>Zechariah</i> ) | ... | ZAKHA A . . . . .            |
| (?)                  | ... | PROPETA ( <i>sic</i> )       |
| ( <i>Nahum</i> )     | ... | NAVVM PROPHETA               |

The stole was lined with red silk (which has been renewed), except that near the ends there was no lining, but needlework on both sides. On the front of one of these ends is a representation of S. John the Evangelist, with the inscription—

IOHANNES EVG

On the back of the same end is an important inscription inserted amongst foliage—

ÆLFFLÆD FIERI PRECEPIT

At the other end is a half-length figure of S. Thomas, with the inscription—

THOMAS APOST.

On the back of this end is the continuation of the inscription which mentions Ælfled—

PIO EPISCOPO FRIDESTANO.

The translation of the whole inscription is—"Ælfled commanded [this stole] to be made for the pious Bishop Frithestan."

The work of the maniple is of precisely the same character as that of the stole. It is two and a quarter inches broad, and, exclusive of the fringe, thirty-two and a quarter inches long. In the middle is a quatrefoil, enclosing a stretched-out hand proceeding from a cloud with the inscription—

DEXTERA DI

(‘The right hand of God’). On one side of this is a figure of S. Gregory the Pope, with the inscription—

SCS GREGORIVS PAP. . .

Below Gregory stands his most familiar companion, Peter the Deacon, with the inscription—

PETRVS DIACONVS.

Below this the maniple terminates in a small square containing a half-length figure of S. John the Baptist, with the inscription—

IOHANNES B.

Behind the last-named figure is the inscription—

PIO EPISCOPO FRIDESTANO.

On the other side of the centre is a figure of S. Sixtus the Pope, with the inscription—

SES SYXTVS EPISCP.

Beneath him is the figure of S. Laurence, deacon and martyr, with the inscription—

LAVRENTIVS DIACONVS.

At this end the square termination contains a half-length figure of S. James, with the inscription—

IACOBVS AP̄O.

On the back of this end is the inscription—

ÆLFFLÆD FIERI PRECEPIT.<sup>1</sup>

Deeply embedded amongst the remains of the robes was Cuthbert's gold cross with a large garnet in the centre, one in each angle, and twelve in each arm. The whole weighed fifteen pennyweights twelve grains, and is hollow. It measures two and a half inches each way. The workmanship is of early date, and the cross was probably worn by him. "Under the central garnet there was probably a relic, perhaps a fragment of the true Cross" (*King*).

A portion of the inner coffin and one of its rings, the portable altar, cross, comb, fragments of the stole and maniples, bracelets, girdle, gold wire, and other fragments, were placed in the cathedral library, whilst the saints' bones were placed in a new coffin and buried in the same grave.

The assertions of certain Roman Catholics, viz. that the coffin found in 1827 was the original coffin of S.

<sup>1</sup> Boyle's *Durham Cathedral*.

Cuthbert, that the skeleton found was not that of the saint, that the body of S. Cuthbert was removed by the men who had been Benedictine monks, though at the time they passed under the name of secular canons (1542-1558), and that they erected a screen to disguise the removal, are pure fiction.

Mediæval writers frequently asserted that an undecayed body was an absolute proof of sanctity and a miracle. Such assertions cannot be maintained. Writers on canonisation "commonly admit that the incorruption (as they speak) of a corpse is to be accounted a miracle, *in case* it is clear that the man, whose corpse is in question, was in his lifetime conspicuous for heroic virtues; and thus they consider they escape the difficulty arising from the fact that a great many bodies are found incorrupt, the owners of which when living were not adorned with heroic virtues; nay, were even stained with vices and sins. . . . In the beginning of 1729 the corpse of Lorenzo Salviati, who died in 1609, was found absolutely incorrupt, which led to a publication, in which it was proved by an accumulation of examples that not in every instance is incorruption an evidence of sanctity, nor is to be accounted a miracle. . . . That state of the body, by which a long resistance is made to corruption, can be [naturally] secured by sparseness of living and austerity of life" (Card. Lambertini and other writers in *Benedict XIV. on Heroic Virtue*).

S. Cuthbert's body probably resisted corruption for



many years by his "spareness of living and austerity of life." This assertion by no means detracts from his sanctity. And the same may be said of others—SS. Etheldreda, Werburgh, Edmund K.M., Elphege, Catherine (at Bologna), John of Prague, Zita, Teresa, Francis Xavier, John of the Cross, Metrophanes, Sergius, Sigebert II. The three last mentioned are Russian saints—and the Russian belief is that bodies of men have remained incorrupt for hundreds of years "by reason of their sanctity of life and singular piety towards God." "Incorrupt relics" is a phrase frequently met with in Eastern Church history, and generally implies canonisation. Many of the incorrupt bodies in the catacombs on the left bank of the Dnieper are preserved from falling into dust merely by the peculiar quality of the soil, and the dryness of the air in these caves, resembling that in the lower aisles of the cathedral churches of Bordeaux and Bremen (Pinkerton's *Russia*, p. 218). It may be added that in modern times the body of the Earl of Derwentwater was found to be incorrupt.

No miracles are now worked where S. Cuthbert's body lies as in the ages of credulity and pious deception. Perhaps, to use the words of a Roman Catholic writer on S. Edmund, it is "the result of ages of neglect, and no longer necessary for its special glory and renown, since there are no more pilgrims as of old, and no longer a nation's reverence and homage!"

## EADBERT, 688

A monk of Lindisfarne—S. Cuthbert's grave opened—Alterations to the church—Eadbert's love of solitude—Death—Miracles—BENEDICT BISHOP—At the Northumbrian court—Visits Rome and Lerins—Becomes a monk—Theodore's companion—Wearmouth monastery—Pictures—John the arch-chantor—Easterwin and Sigfrid—Jarrow—Death of Benedict (690)—His work.

EADBERT, the successor of Cuthbert, was a monk of Lindisfarne, and "renowned for his knowledge in the Divine Writings, as also for keeping the Divine precepts, and chiefly for almsgiving; so that, according to the law, he every year gave the tenth part, not only of four-footed beasts, but also of all corn and fruit, as also of garments to the poor" (Bede, *E. H.* iv. 29).

In the spring of the year 698, eleventh anniversary of the death of S. Cuthbert, his grave was opened by the monks. To their surprise the body was found to be incorrupt, and presented no sign of decay. The vestments in which he had been buried were also quite fresh. The corpse was arrayed in new vestments and placed in a new coffin, which was allowed to remain on the floor of the church. The incorrupt state of the bishop's corpse prevented the dispersion of his bones.

Under the direction of Eadbert many alterations were made to the monastic church. The roof of reeds was taken off, and replaced by a lead roof. The walls were also covered with lead.

Bishop Eadbert loved solitude and retirement. The islet hallowed by the vigils and prayers of S. Aidan and S. Cuthbert was his frequent resort. He seems to have had a horror of sudden death, and prayed most fervently that he might have time for preparation and opportunity of receiving the last offices of the Church. His prayer was answered, and he “departed to our Lord” after long and grievous sickness.

The love and respect of the brethren towards their chief—“God’s beloved Bishop”—is observed in that they placed his body in the grave of their holy father Cuthbert, putting his coffin containing his uncorrupted remains over Eadbert’s.

The miracles said to have been performed at the grave “testified the merits of them both.” The relics of Eadbert were carried with those of S. Cuthbert by the monks during their wanderings, and ultimately found a resting-place in Durham.

During this episcopate two remarkable men died—Drythelm, a monk of Melrose, whose visions are referred to in the next article, and Benedict Biscop.

Benedict Biscop was of noble birth, and in his early manhood served in the court of King Oswy. Benedict is supposed to have been a Northumbrian by birth,

though this is disputed by others, who claim him to be a Mercian, as the name Biscop<sup>1</sup>—which cannot satisfactorily be explained with regard to our saint—occurs in the ancient genealogy of the kings of Lindissi, amongst the names of Woden's descendants.

Benedict became a great favourite whilst in the King's service, and received a grant of land sufficient to support himself in a manner becoming his position, besides many honours. An exceptional friendship existed between Benedict and the King's son Aldfrid. At the age of twenty-five (A.D. 653) Benedict left the service of the King and proceeded to Rome. In doing so he virtually decided his future course of life, though he did not then take the monastic habit.

At that time Wilfrid was also a favourite at court, and he most probably had influenced Benedict. Both set out for Rome together, though Wilfrid remained at Lyons for a long time, whilst Benedict pushed forward to the renowned city.

In Rome he found many opportunities of improving

<sup>1</sup> Biscop is also called Baducing, doubtless a patronymic. "Biscop is certainly a strange name to be borne by one who never enjoyed the episcopal dignity: it is impossible to explain it, but I must call attention to the fact that it occurs in the ancient genealogy of the kings of Lindissi . . . if Biscop were a descendant of that race . . . Benedictus may have been only an additional name derived from his familiarity with, and frequent pilgrimages to, Rome. A similar instance may be noticed in Beorhtgils, a Bishop of East Anglia, who was also called Boniface; and in the celebrated S. Boniface himself. Thorpe thinks that the Biscop of the royal race of Lindissi is the same with Benedict. And it is a curious fact that his father's name is given as 'Beda'" (Kemble, *Florence*, quoted by Moberly).

his knowledge of divine things, and he was so impressed with all that he saw that on his return to Northumbria he pressed Aldfrid to visit the famous city. Oswy objected, and the suggestion was not adopted.

Benedict set out a second time for Rome, disappointed because he was unaccompanied by his friend Aldfrid. Both journeys were profitable, and the means of Benedict enriching his mind with spiritual treasures and “imbibing sweets of no small amount of salutary learning.” On his homeward journey he stayed at Lerins, another “Holy Island,” off the south coast of France, for two years. The associations and traditions of Lerins were almost as ravishing as those of Rome. A long roll of illustrious spiritual sons had been reared in the sacred island, and had gone forth into different parts of the world, as enthusiastic missionaries, teachers, and bishops.

The island was frequently visited by ecclesiastics from the West during their journeys eastward, and not the least of all among the names of eminent men is found that of S. Patrick.

At Lerins, Benedict heard of the glorious works of her spiritual sons. The monks were ever ready to praise famous men—such as S. Honoratus, their founder and Bishop of Arles; S. Eucherius, who “shone first as a bright star in the world by the perfection of his virtue, and was afterwards by the example of his life a model to the monastic order” (*Cassian*); the learned and

gentle Cassian himself, founder of the monastery of S. Victor; S. Valerian, afterwards Bishop of Cemela; S. Hilary, "of holy memory" (*S. Leo*); Mamertus Claudian, the founder of Rogation days in the Western Church; Salvianus, "the most blessed man" (*S. Hilary of Arles*) and "master of bishops"; S. Vincent, a distinguished writer; S. Cæsarius, "the first ecclesiastic in the Gaul of his own age" . . . . who knew how to assuage by the glowing zeal of Christian charity . . . . the physical distress of those times of desolation (*Neander*); S. Loup, who left Pimeniola that both might devote themselves to a stricter form of religion; and a host of other worthies.

The monks of Lerins would most likely, in turn, hear a good deal of Church life and traditions in the British Isles—of Lindisfarne, of Iona, of Whitby, and the southern missions. With mingled pride and humility Benedict would tell of Oswald's glorious victory over the pagans, the work of Aidan, of Colman and the Paschal controversy, of the life and works of Cuthbert; in short, the monks of Lerins would hear from the lips of Benedict a fuller account of the history of the Church in the north of Britain than any extant records supply. Benedict, whilst at Lerins, decided to embrace the religious life himself, and within its sacred walls he received the monastic habit. After staying several months at Lerins, he proceeded to Rome. That journey would be about the time that Wighard was sent from

Kent to Rome to be consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and died there. Nothing could have happened more opportunely than Benedict's presence in Rome at that time. Theodore the philosopher, who had been chosen in the place of Wighard, was about to leave for Britain. As he had no knowledge of the language of the people, and knew little or nothing of their customs, Benedict was pressed into his service as companion and guide.

Theodore and Benedict were both well received at Canterbury. Theodore appointed Benedict abbot of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul near the city, where he remained two years, when the fascination of Rome and his personal love of travel moved him to take another journey for the purpose of collecting treasures of art and literature, pictures, books, etc., for he desired to see the monasteries at home as well furnished as possible. As a well-travelled man he was painfully aware that although the monks in Britain were pious, they were not particularly brilliant from an intellectual standpoint, which was probably due to the great dearth of literature.

When Benedict returned home, he heard that his friend Coinwalch, King of Wessex, was dead, and so set his face northwards. He was well received at the Northumbrian court, where he displayed the treasures he had brought from abroad.

Egfrid, who had succeeded his father, Oswy, made

Benedict a grant of land (674) at the mouth of the Wear, upon which he subsequently built a monastery in honour of the most blessed Apostle S. Peter. It is probable that before this Romanesque church was built he erected a building of wattles and timber, of circular form, for the immediate use of his monks. In this church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, he hung certain pictures "like a crown round the church."<sup>1</sup>

Benedict's new church was unlike anything hitherto attempted in North Britain. The churches were for the most part of timber, mud, and wattles. The English had no idea of the mason's work, so it was necessary to procure workmen from abroad. Benedict set out for Gaul, where he had seen masons at work, and brought some over to Wearmouth. When the stonework was well forward he made another journey in order to secure glaziers, who soon "cancelled" the windows and porches of the church. They did more, they taught the English to make glass, and to put it to various uses.

Benedict soon arranged his new church in seemly and decent order. He had brought many fittings from abroad, others were given him at home, including sacred vessels, vestments, and decorations. He arranged his pictures on this wise: "On a board across the middle of the nave roof he placed those which represented the Blessed Virgin and the Twelve Apostles, on the north wall scenes from the Gospel history, and on the south

<sup>1</sup> There was also an oratory dedicated to S. Laurence.



wall scenes from the Revelation." His object was to have them visible from all parts of the church, in order that whosoever might enter, however ignorant, "might see wherever he turned his eyes the benignant countenances of our Lord and His saints, and might dwell upon the blessings of the Lord's Incarnation, or might see in the scenes from the Revelation the terrors of the last Judgment, and be brought to search his heart more carefully."

Pictures in churches did not merely serve for ornamentation. They were regarded as auxiliaries—powerful auxiliaries too—in teaching. They appealed to the beholders through the eye and made a lasting impression. They were the "books" of the illiterate, "who contemplated in the lineaments of painting what they had never learned to read and could not discern in writing" (cf. *Synod of Arras*, 1025).

People travelled great distances in order to see the pictures and to hear the stories of the subjects portrayed. They were particularly helpful in places rendered famous by the labours of illustrious saints and resorted to by pilgrims. S. John Damascene says that men spent their estates to have sacred stories represented in paintings. Husbands and wives took their children by the hand, others led youths and strangers from pagan lands to paintings where they could point out to them the sacred stories with the finger, and so edify them as to lift their hearts and minds to God. The

same interest was universal. Pictures made men *think*, and the terrors of the judgment, however feebly or wildly portrayed, caused many to amend their lives.<sup>1</sup> So far religious pictures have a mission, but it is one thing to worship a picture and another to learn by the story told in a picture what is to be worshipped. The English did not fall into such gross and superstitious abuse of paintings and images almost universal at one time, which called forth the censure of all right-thinking men.

Benedict also provided for the decent choral rendering of the service within the walls of his new church. John, an arch-chanter of S. Peter's, Rome, and Abbot of S. Martin's, had, by Pope Agatho's permission, accompanied Benedict in order to teach his community the art of singing and reading the services. During John's sojourn in Northumbria he visited several churches for the same purpose, and before returning left with the monks of Wearmouth full rules for the celebration of the festivals and the guidance of the services.

Benedict once more visited Rome, where he made

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* the conversion of Vladimir. The monk Constantine in setting forth before the Prince Vladimir the judgments of God which are in the world, the redemption of the human race by the Blood of Christ, and the retribution of the life to come, powerfully affected the heathen monarch, who was burdened with the sense of a tumultuous youth. This was particularly the case when the monk pointed out to him on an Icon which represented the last Judgment, the different lot of the just and wicked. "Good to those on the right hand, but woe to those on the left!" exclaimed Vladimir, deeply affected; but sensual nature still struggled in him against heavenly truth, etc. (Muravieff's *Hist. Russian Church*, p. 11).

a long stay. He returned with many books, pictures, and relics for his monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. During his absence Easterwin, a kinsman whom he had appointed joint-abbot of Wearmouth, died from the pestilence, and the brethren chose the deacon Sigfrid as Easterwin's successor. Benedict found Sigfrid dangerously ill, and with his consent appointed Ceolfrid abbot of both Wearmouth and Jarrow.

The foundations of S. Paul's, Jarrow, had been laid in 681 upon a piece of land on the south bank of the Tyne granted by King Egfrid. Ceolfrid was first abbot of this new establishment and the brethren were drawn from Wearmouth. The two houses formed but one monastery. According to Benedict's wish they were joined together "in mutual peace and concord, mutual and perpetual affection." On the death of Sigfrid (689) Ceolfrid was appointed head of both houses. Benedict's pictures were arranged in the church after the order of type and antetype—Isaac carrying the wood with which he was to be sacrificed and Christ bearing His Cross, the brazen serpent on a pole and Christ on the Cross, and so on.

Benedict had returned home to die. Soon after Sigfrid's death he was seized with a creeping paralysis and was unable to leave his bed. Yet he never lost heart and never ceased to praise God. Being unable to enter the choir he sent for a number of the brethren who, each canonical hour, sang the appointed psalms

in his presence. His sleepless nights were alleviated by lections from the sacred Scriptures, especially such parts as were comforting to a sick man—the patience of Job, etc. Benedict frequently conversed with the brethren respecting the Benedictine Rule, which he exhorted them to continue to observe, to preserve the treasures which he had been able to collect in their entirety, and not allow them to be injured by neglect or be dispersed. He fell asleep on January 12, 690, and was buried in his church of S. Peter at Wearmouth. Nearly three hundred years later his relics were translated to Thorney Abbey.

Benedict Biscop stands in the front rank of Northumbrian Churchmen and scholars. He inaugurated a magnificent work at great cost and much labour. He was far in advance of any of his predecessors—monks or bishops—in the work of civilisation and culture. He lived at a time when an extension of the monastic curriculum of study was generally acknowledged to be advisable. The influence of Gregory the Great with respect to the subjects suitable for study in the schools was waning. There was an almost universal desire for a more comprehensive method. The ancient poets and philosophers were read without any qualms or misgivings as regards their “baneful” influence. The comprehensive studies of Bede, who was the disciple of Benedict rather than of Theodore, mark the change. The extensive library formed by Benedict and Ceolfrid

was Bede's treasury. He caught his enthusiasm for literature from Benedict, and had leisure to profit by the means of culture which arduous labour and self-denial had placed within his reach.

Benedict was not raised to episcopal dignity. He was therefore free to devote his energies to his great work. The bishops who had ruled in Northumbria before his time never came up to his standard, not even Wilfrid. They were pastors rather than literary men. Benedict was a born traveller and one of the earliest in a long train of pilgrims who at that time wended their way to Rome, though he drew his inspiration from other places as well as the city which possessed the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

In the controversies of his day Benedict took no important part. His life was free from the turmoil and irritation of disputation. He was unmoved by ambition. His great soul despised place and power. He lived to give pleasure to others. His soul was ravished by art, literature, and religion. Almost to the last moment of his life he regarded books and pictures as the best form of earthly treasure, and besought the monks to take great care of his collection.

Benedict's influence was far-reaching. His enterprise called forth laudable emulation. Soon after the completion of his churches Naiton, King of the Scots, sent to Ceolfrid for masons to instruct his own people in the art of building.

The founder of Wearmouth must be regarded as one of the earliest of Englishmen who took advantage of the natural commercial facilities afforded by the Tyne and Wear, and when the mercantile history of the North of England is written he will occupy an important place in the gallery of the illustrious and successful pioneers.

Benedict Biscop has deserved and won an honourable place in the history of the civilisation of Britain. He has earned the gratitude, not merely of the British people but also of Christendom. Bede wrote of him as "the Venerable"—a title as befitting as he was worthy.

## EADFRID, 698

A disciple of S. Cuthbert—Farne cell—Lindisfarne Gospels—Description—Bilfrid the Anchorite—Northumbrian court dresses and furniture—Monkwearmouth—Reverence for the Gospels—Wilfrid's Evangelaria—Lindisfarne Gospels, now in the British Museum—Aldred's Saxon gloss—The monastic scribe—Ceolfrid—His departure for Rome—Death at Langres—Pandect "Codex Amiatinus."

EADFRID, a disciple of the blessed Cuthbert, was consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne in 698. So great was Eadfrid's reverence for his spiritual father that he took him for his pattern and model.

An anonymous life of S. Cuthbert, written by a monk who had ample means of obtaining the fullest records, was dedicated to Eadfrid. The work was probably used by the Venerable Bede as the groundwork of his own compilation, which he undertook at the suggestion of the monks of Lindisfarne, and submitted it to several well-informed members of the community who had attended S. Cuthbert during his last illness. Additions and corrections were made before the manuscript was handed to the transcribers.

Eadfrid rebuilt the cell on the Farne island to which

S. Cuthbert and others retired for greater privacy, and which had fallen into decay. But he will be best remembered on account of his work in the Scriptorium. The Lindisfarne Gospels, or Durham Book as it is sometimes called, was his work. He began it during the lifetime of Cuthbert—"for God and Saint Cuthbert, and for all the saints in the island."

An eminent writer on palæography (Prof. Westwood) thus describes the MS. :

"It consists of 258 leaves of thick vellum, measuring  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $9\frac{1}{2}$ ; it contains the four Gospels written in double columns, with an interlinear Saxon gloss, preceded by the Epistle of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, the prefaces, the Eusebian canons, arguments of each Gospel, and capitula of the lessons:<sup>1</sup> the whole written in a beautifully clear, large, rounded hand, and most exquisitely ornamented with drawings, illuminated initials, and tessellated designs; the entire volume being in an extraordinarily perfect state of preservation, although now nearly twelve centuries old. The initial letters are most elegantly ornamented with an endless variety of patterns, in which the interlaced ribbons, spiral lines, and intertwined lacertine birds and beasts are everywhere introduced: the intervening spaces are profusely ornamented with red dots, arranged in a great variety of designs. . . . It is difficult to imagine what were the instruments used by the caligrapher, so perfectly regular and free from error is the drawing, even in the most complicated parts of the designs. Each of the five divisions of the volume is preceded by a page completely covered with coloured tessellated patterns of the utmost intricacy, generally disposed so as to form a cruciform design in the centre of the page. This elaborately beautiful feature is entirely peculiar to MSS. executed in Ireland, or by Irish scholars; and in its neatness, precision, and delicacy far

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<sup>1</sup> The Calendar attached to these Gospels is said to be the ancient Neapolitan one, a fact which would connect it with Archbishop Theodore's companion, the Abbot Adrian of Naples (Bates).



surpassing the productions of contemporary nations on the Continent. . . . The vellum is very thick and smooth, and the colours appear to have been mixed with thick gum or size, which has not only caused the raised, tessellated appearance of the drawings, but has evidently tended to their preservation. The ink, like that of the Irish or Hiberno-Saxon MSS., is very black: the colours are laid on very thick, only the red and blue are, properly speaking, opaque, but all the colours are as brilliant as if the paintings had been finished only yesterday."

As the scribe of Lindisfarne was in the foremost rank of illuminators of his age, so was the anchorite Bilfrid amongst the "workers in gold." Under Ethelwold, Eadfrid's successor, he adorned the MS. on the outside "with gold, and with gems and with silver unalloyed overlaid."

This MS. is a valuable guide to the customs of the day. From it we can gather some of the subjects of study at Lindisfarne in the seventh and earlier centuries—in addition to the sacred Scriptures, the Epistle of S. Jerome to Pope Damasus, the Eusebian canons, etc., etc., which implied a fair knowledge of Church history; some of the monks would be occupied in preparing vellum, pigments, etc., for the scribe; and metal workers made durable covers for his MSS.

In the Lindisfarne Gospels we have also the illuminator's idea of regal splendour:

"No Syrian tax-gatherer nor fisherman of Galilee, but an Egfrid or a Keolwulf, only the crowns replaced by aureoles, the sceptres by pens: while the articles of furniture enable us to conjure up some sort of picture of the interior of the great palace of Bamburgh. The Evangelists wear state dresses, the mantles always of royal

purple, the tunics blue, or pink, or green. Their thrones are severally, a plain red stool, with a pattern of circles and triangles incised round the edge, and cross pieces to the legs, that are painted blue on the inner side: two simple chairs in green and yellow, one with a plain blue cushion, the other with a pink one embroidered with gold, and an extraordinary settle that seems to have no bottom except a blue cushion. We are also shown a brilliant red curtain with six iron rings on a rod, a small round table, and a footstool inlaid with oblong designs. The florid full face of St. John is very striking, with his brown hair curled like a flowing wig. The angel of St. Matthew and the lion of St. Mark are blowing long horns. St. Luke's ox, of a light cream colour, seems to belong to the breed still preserved at Chillingham. All four Evangelists have bare feet: even this may be part of their regal state" (*Bates*).

Whilst the illuminations may enshrine local customs, Byzantine influence can be traced in the penmanship. This style came to Lindisfarne through the Irish by way of Iona.

In the vestry of the parish church of Monkwearmouth there are portions of stone slabs upon which the ornamentation of the Lindisfarne Gospels is almost an exact copy. "It is not unreasonable to suppose that the exquisite piece of work was designed by the same great artist who, twenty-five years after Benedict began his church, drew the designs of the Lindisfarne Gospels . . . yet the interlacements of this fragment of stone have a more striking resemblance to the somewhat earlier Gospels of Durrow."

The Book of the Gospels has in all ages, and by all Christian nations, been treated with the greatest respect

and veneration. As early as the days of S. Jerome the MSS. were adorned and embellished at great cost. They were considered to be valuable presents, and were frequently given by princes, bishops, and abbots to churches or to each other. When about to be used, they were carried with much pomp and ceremony from the sacristy to the altar. Years before the Lindisfarne Gospels were finished, at the dedication of Wilfrid's basilica at Ripon, a copy of the Gospels specially prepared by his orders, written throughout in letters of the purest gold on sheets of parchment coloured purple—a marvel of beauty—in a case of pure gold, richly adorned with most precious gems, was placed on the altar.

When the brethren fled from Lindisfarne on the approach of the Northmen, they carried the Book of the Gospels with them. During their wanderings, when they attempted to cross over to Ireland, the precious MS. fell into the sea and was lost for four days, when Hunred, directed by S. Cuthbert, who appeared to him in a vision, found it washed ashore near Whitherne. Wherever the brethren went they carried this precious and artistic treasure. When they settled at Durham, and times were more secure, when Lindisfarne was restored, it was taken there, and remained until the Dissolution in 1537. For about a hundred years it was lost. In the seventeenth century it was in the possession of Robert Bowyer, clerk to the House of

Commons ; thence it passed to Sir Robert Cotton, and it is now preserved in the British Museum.

Aldred, "an unworthy and most miserable priest, by the help of God and St. Cuthbert, overglossed the same in English." At the end of S. Matthew's Gospel he added, as a note, in Saxon :

"Thou, O Living God, bear in mind Eadfrith, Ethelwald, and Billfrith, and Aldred the sinner. These four with God's help were employed upon this book."

At the end of S. John's Gospel he wrote :

"Eadfrith, bishop over the Church of Lindisfarne, first wrote this book in (honour of) God and St. Cuthbert, and all the company of saints in the island : and Ethilwald, bishop of Lindisfarne, made an outer cover, and adorned it as he was well able : and Billfrith, the anchorite, he wrought the metal work of the ornaments on the outside thereof and decked it with gold and with gems, overlaid also with silver, unalloyed metal. And Aldred, an unworthy and most miserable priest, by the help of God and St. Cuthbert overglossed the same in English and domiciled himself with three parts. Matthew, this part for God and St. Cuthbert ; Mark, this part for the Bishop ; and Luke, this part for the brotherhood, with eight ora of silver (as an offering) on entrance ; and St. John's part for himself, *i. e.* for his soul, and (depositing) four silver ora with God and St. Cuthbert that he may find acceptance in heaven through the mercy of God, good fortune and peace on earth, promotion and dignity, wisdom and prudence through the merits of St. Cuthbert. Eadfrith, Ethilwald, Billfrith, and Aldred have wrought and adorned this book of the Gospels for (love of) God and St. Cuthbert."

In all monasteries of Columban foundation the work of the scribe was held in great reverence and honour, after the example of the blessed Columba himself, who was an accomplished penman and transcriber. It was a

common practice to appoint a skilful penman as abbot or bishop, *e. g.* Dorbene of Iona and Eadfrid of Lindisfarne.

The love and veneration of the Lindisfarne community for Eadfrid was seen in that they carried his bones about with them in their wanderings. In the nineteenth century he is venerated not only on account of his virtues, but also for the literary and artistic treasure—the Lindisfarne Gospels. During Eadfrid's episcopate a friend and kinsman of Benedict Biscop passed to his well-earned rest—the sainted Ceolfrid, for some time Abbot of Wearmouth. Benedict found him to be an invaluable helper: both were inspired with the same lofty aspirations with respect to ecclesiastical culture, and both zealously laboured for this object. They travelled together, visited Rome, and brought home literary and art treasures of no mean order. Ceolfrid was originally a monk at Gilling, but was driven North by the pestilence. He found a home at Ripon, where he was ordained priest by Wilfrid. From Ripon he went to Kent in search of knowledge, and from the famous Botulf he received help and instruction. In 674 Benedict persuaded him to become Prior of Wearmouth. He had some restive spirits to deal with, and his form of discipline caused unpleasantness, so he retired to Ripon. Through the intervention of Benedict matters were amended, and Ceolfrid returned to Wearmouth. It was probably about this time that he visited Rome with

Benedict. In 682 Benedict received a grant of land at Jarrow on the Tyne, upon which he erected a monastery, and sent Ceolfrid and Eosterwin as joint-abbots. The colony of monks drawn from Wearmouth was probably more amenable to Ceolfrid's methods than others. Bede, one of the monks, speaks of him with great respect and veneration—a man in all regards industrious, of a sharp wit, diligent and active in what he took in hand, mature in mind, and fervent in zeal for promoting religion.

The influence of the important work of Ceolfrid and Benedict was soon felt in other parts of the island. The Nursing Fathers of the Church were not slow to imitate the worthy example. In 710 Naiton, King of the Scots, sent to Wearmouth for masons to build him a Romanesque church. And Ceolfrid at the same time took pains to inform the King respecting the observance of Easter and the tonsure.

In 716 Ceolfrid, then feeble with age, resigned his position as chief of the community. He longed to visit Rome again, perhaps to die in the city which possessed the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul. The monks heard his decision with regret and many tears. Their grief was very great when the day for his departure arrived. Bede, an eye-witness, has left a graphic account of the proceedings, which gives an outline of the services in the eighth century. Early on the morning of Thursday, June 4, mass was sung in the church of the Blessed Mother of God and perpetual Virgin, Mary, and

in the church of the Apostle Peter; and after those who were present had received the Holy Communion he immediately prepared for his journey. All assembled in the church of the Blessed Peter; he (Ceolfrid) kindled the incense, offered a prayer before the altar, pronounced a blessing upon all, whilst he stood on the steps holding the censer in his hand. Singing a litany they went into the oratory of the blessed martyr Laurence, which was opposite the dormitory of the brethren. In his last farewell he admonished them to preserve good-will amongst themselves, and to correct transgressors according to the rule of the Gospel. They went down to the sea-shore, and he gave them the kiss of peace. After prayer Ceolfrid and his companions entered the ship. The scene recalls an incident in the life of the Apostle of the Gentiles, viz. his departure from Ephesus, when the brethren on the sea-shore wept, because all would "see his face no more."

Ceolfrid had caused three pandects to be written in his scriptorium, two of which he placed "with his monasteries in the churches, so that any one who might wish to read any chapter from either Testament might be able at once to find what he desired." The third copy he took with him when he left Wearmouth, intending to offer it in Rome "as a gift to the Blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles."

After being a hundred and fourteen days on his

journey, Ceolfrið died at Langres, in France, on September 25, 716. He was seventy-four years old, and had been a priest nearly forty-seven and abbot thirty-five. During his journey he recited the Canonical Hours, sung mass, except one day when he was on the sea, and three days before death.

Some of the brethren returned home to relate the sad news, others remained at the grave of their departed father, and some pushed on to Rome with the Pandect intended for Gregory II.

This Pandect is now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana at Florence. It is known as *Codex Amiatinus*, and considered to be one of the most valuable texts of S. Jerome's version of the sacred Scriptures. Certain verses were written at the beginning of the Pandect which still exist *in dorso*, on the first leaf of the *Codex Amiatinus*, though in an altered form. Four words of the original inscription have been erased, and other words written in their place, so as to make the verses record the gift of the book to the convent of Monte Amiata by a certain Peter, abbot of a Lombard monastery, who lived at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries. But the inscription as it now exists in the Codex, and as it is recorded by the author of *Lives of the Abbots*, is printed below side by side, the words and letters which have been written over the erasures being given in italics :



*Codex Amiatinus.**Lives of the Abbots.*

|                             |                              |            |                         |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| Cenobium                    | AD EXIMII MERITO             | CORPUS     | AD EXIMII MERITO        |
|                             | VENERABILE <i>Salvatoris</i> |            | VENERABILI PETRI,       |
| QVEM                        | CAPVT ECCLESIAE              | DEDICAT    | ECCLESIAE               |
|                             | DEDICAT ALTA FIDES           | QVEM       | CAPVT ALTA FIDES        |
| <i>pEtrus longobardorum</i> |                              | CEOLFRIDVS | ANGLORVM                |
|                             | EXTREMIS DE FINIB.           |            | EXTIMIS DE FINIB. ABBAS |
| ABBAS                       |                              |            |                         |
| DEVOTI                      | AFFECTVS                     | DEVOTI     | AFFECTVS                |
|                             | PIGNORA MITTO MEI            |            | PIGNORA MITTO MEI       |
| MEQVE                       | MEOSQ. OPTANS                | MEQVE      | MEOSQ. OPTANS           |
| TANTI                       | INTER GAVDIA PA-             | TANTI      | INTER GAVDIA PA-        |
| TRIS                        |                              | TRIS       |                         |
| IN CAELIS                   | MEMOREM                      | IN CAELIS  | MEMOREM                 |
| SEMPER                      | HABERE LOCVM.                | SEMPER     | HABERE LOCVM.           |

“These verses (with the exception of a transposition in the third and fourth lines, and *extimis* for *extremis* in the sixth, probably slips made by the author of the *Life*), are identical with the verses inscribed in the *Codex Amiatinus*” (Boyle’s (quoting Hort) *Durham*).

## ETHELWOLD, (?) 724

Ethelwold Abbot of Melrose—Drythelm—Dante—Ethelwold made bishop of Lindisfarne—King Ceolwulf abdicates and enters Lindisfarne—Beer and wine—Archbishopric of York—BEDE—His life and works—Wearmouth—Jarrow—Ordination—Literary labours—Fictions as to his travels—Death—Translation of his relics—His shrine at Durham—Encomia.

ETHELWOLD (or Aedinald) was one of S. Cuthbert's servants at Lindisfarne and afterwards became Abbot of Melrose. In his day King Aldfrid visited the monastery to hear the visions of the celebrated Drythelm who was admitted into that community at the King's request. Drythelm had a remarkable history. One evening he "died:" the next morning he came to life again and sat up. All the mourners except his wife fled. He then divided his property into three parts, one to his wife, one to his children, one to the poor, and sought admission into Melrose, where he died a second time in 693.<sup>1</sup> Drythelm, like Fursey, an Irish

<sup>1</sup> There is little doubt but that Drythelm had heard of Fursey's visions in Munster which occurred about the year 627—over fifty years before his own vision. As the monasteries in North Britain were in touch with the Irish monasteries, and frequently received

monk who laboured in East Anglia, gave an account of what he saw in his disembodied state to Haemgils, monk and priest. Bede has enshrined it in his *Ecclesiastical History* (v. 12); it is interesting as a record of some of the doctrines held by the Northern Church in his day, and also because Dante is said to have conceived his "Vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise" after reading the "visions" of these monks.

It is improbable that Dante was indebted to Fursey or Drythelm for the foundation of his great work. Bede's writings were certainly read on the Continent, and may have been within Dante's reach. If he ever studied at Oxford,<sup>1</sup> which is unlikely, he had opportunities of consulting them. He would certainly be

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visits from the monks, the story would easily find its way into Northumbria. It was undoubtedly a means of extending a knowledge of the unseen worlds according to the theological views of those times, for by such forms of narrative doctrines were more easily retained by the mind. In Drythelm's account, probably embellished by Bede, the Romish doctrine of a purgatorial fire, and the means of averting punishment for sin by prayers, alms, fasting and masses, is distinctly taught.

<sup>1</sup> "The fact of his having visited England rests on a passage alluding to it in the Latin poems of Boccaccio, and on the authority of Giovanni da Seravalle, Bishop of Fermo, who, as Tiraboschi observes, though he lived at the distance of a century from Dante, might have known those who were contemporaries with him. This writer in an unedited commentary on the *Commedia*, written while he was attending the Council of Constance, says of our poet—'*Anagorice dilexit theologiam sacram, in quâ diu studuit tam in Oxoniis in regno Angliae, quam Parisiis in regno Franciæ*,' etc. And again, '*Dantes se in juventute dedit omnibus artibus liberalibus, studens eas Paduæ, Bononiæ, demum Oxoniis et Parisiis, ubi fecit multos actus mirabiles, intantum quod ab aliquibus dicebatur magnus philosophus, ab aliquibus magnus Theologus, ab ali quibus magnus poeta*.'" (Tiraboschi, *Stor. della Poes. Ital.*, vol. ii. cap. iv. 14, quoted by Cary).

conversant with similar stories told by pagan writers of Hermotimus,<sup>1</sup> and Herus,<sup>2</sup> but the story of the Vision of Alberico, written about the beginning of the twelfth century, most probably suggested his choice of the subject. Alberico was born of noble parents near Alvito in the diocese of Sora, c. 1101. When he was about nine years old he was seized with an illness which deprived him of his senses for nine days. During this trance he had a vision in which he seemed to himself to be carried away by a dove, and conducted by S. Peter and two angels through Purgatory and Hell, to survey the torments of sinners. The Apostle explained all that was seen. They were afterwards transported through the seven heavens and taken into Paradise, where they beheld the glory of the blessed. Alberico, like Drythelm, when he came to himself made profession of a religious life. He entered the monastery of Monte Casino, where the Abbot Girardo caused a monk to make a record of the Vision at Alberico's dictation. Others testified to his extreme self-mortification and abstractedness of demeanour.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny (*Hist. Natur.* lib. 7, c. 53) says Hermotimus left his body for dead, and his soul wandered into diverse places; afterwards it returned to the body, and he made known what none could have known but those who had been present in those distant countries. He used to wander in this way at will, but at last his body was found by his enemies and destroyed by fire. Thus his soul lost its refuge ever afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> Plato (*De Republ.* lib. 10) says Herus the Armenian was regarded as dead. His soul returned and he revived, and then he spoke of the rewards and punishments of another life.

It is not in the province of this work to deal with "transport, ecstasy, and rapture," but it is curious to note by the way that a North-country friar, Duns Scotus, the subtle doctor who was born at Duns, a few miles from Lindisfarne, in an ecstasy remained so absorbed as to give occasion to inexperienced people to think that he was really dead, and to bury him.<sup>1</sup>

Ethelwold was made Bishop of Lindisfarne in 721 (some writers say 724, which would make the see vacant for three years, for which no reason is given). He greatly prized Eadfrid's copy of the Gospels and caused Billfrith to adorn it with gold and precious stones.

Whilst Ethelwold was bishop, Ceolwulf, King of Northumbria (at whose suggestion the Venerable Bede wrote his *Ecclesiastical History*), a "learned and religious prince," resigned his crown, separated from his wife, and entered the monastery. He took with him "much treasure, caused his beard to be cut, received the tonsure, and gave to S. Cuthbert the property called Werchewurde (Warkworth) with its appendages." He was the first royal personage who had entered the community. Other houses of Columban foundation, especially Iona, in fulfilment of Columba's prediction, had enrolled many princes as "citizens." At Lindisfarne Ceolwulf found rest and peace from the troubles

<sup>1</sup> Preface to his Life, printed at Venice, 1617, quoted by Benedict XIV. on Heroic Virtue. Cf. also Restitutus (Aug. *De Civit. Dei*, xiv. 24); the Maid of Zaragossa, etc.

and dangers which surrounded his throne. The monks relaxed their rigorous fare in his behalf. Hitherto their drink consisted of milk and water: beer and wine were allowed after the advent of the royal neophyte.

The history of monasticism contains many instances of men and women renouncing the glories and perils of thrones for cloister life. Grief, incapacity to rule, disgust with the world, humility, love of learning and the love of God induced them to seek repose within hospitable walls. "In England alone, nearly thirty kings and queens retired into convents or seclusion during the seventh and eighth centuries." (*Döllinger*.) What lesson of resignation or humility is it possible to imagine for the poor more eloquent than the sight of a queen, or of the son of a king, or the nephew of an emperor, occupied by an effort of their own freewill in washing plates or oiling the shoes of the last peasant who had become a novice, burying in the cloister a grandeur and a power of which the diminished grandeurs, ephemeral and unconsidered, of our modern society can give no idea.<sup>1</sup>

During the last years of Ethelwold the see of York became an archbishopric. Egbert, a scion of the royal house of Northumbria, who had been appointed to York by Ceolwulf, was made archbishop.<sup>2</sup> On Bede's sugges-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Montalembert, *Monks*, p. 56, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Paulinus is sometimes (erroneously) called the first *Archbishop* of

tion, contained in a letter on the decay of religion in the Anglo-Saxon Church, Egbert applied to Rome for the pallium, which was given by Pope Gregory III. in 735 after much solicitation. The early opposition probably arose on the ground that the suggestion had proceeded from the civil power. Nothelm, an acquaintance of Bede, who had collected in Rome "material" for his *Ecclesiastical History*, as Archbishop of Canterbury, raised no objection. He may have seen the necessity of a northern archbishopric or have been engrossed in other matters. Ethelwold died in 740. His bones were carried about by the monks in their wanderings.

During Ethelwold's episcopate the Venerable Bede died<sup>1</sup> at Jarrow, on the eve of Ascension Day 735.

He was born in 672 or 673, probably at Monkton, in the territory belonging to Wearmouth monastery and given by King Egfrid to Benedict Biscop. At the age of seven Bede was placed in the monastery

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York. He did not receive the pall until the autumn of 633, after his flight from the North, and when he was Bishop of *Rochester*. He never returned to the North. S. Gregory the Great intended York to be an archbishopric.

<sup>1</sup> Bede's name has commonly been derived from "bidan," to bid, which may be taken either in an active or passive sense, as meaning (1) either a "master" or "a servant," either "to command" or "to pray." (2) As equivalent to "Badoc"—Beda as a prefix qualifies the word which follows it with the sense of "military"—Badudegn = battle-thane, Baduwine = battle-friend. It is curious to find a MacBaedan and a Macbeda (Macbeth) among the Gaels of Scotland (Moberly). Bedlington (= the abiding-place of the Bedelings, or children of Bede) in Northumberland is thought to have been the residence of the ancestors of the Venerable Bede. There was a tribe of Saxons called Baedlingas.

under the care of the Abbot. A few years later, when the new monastery of Jarrow was ready for occupation, Bede, together with some of the brethren, eighteen in number, under Ceolfrid, who became first Abbot, removed to Jarrow. Benedict remained head of both houses, which formed one monastery, and, from the unity and concord which prevailed between the two, deserved to be called "one single monastery built in two different places."

In 686 a terrible plague visited Jarrow. All the brethren were stricken, with the exception of the Abbot Ceolfrid and "one little boy," who were able to say the daily office. This "little boy" is supposed to have been Bede, who would then be about thirteen years of age.

At nineteen Bede was ordained deacon by S. John of Beverley, who was then Bishop of Hexham and afterwards Bishop of York. The requirements as to age were dispensed with on account of his piety and extraordinary endowments, and at thirty he was ordained priest by the same saintly prelate. "From the time he was ordained priest up to his fifty-ninth year, when his *Ecclesiastical History* was finished, he made it his business, for his own use and that of his brethren, to make short notes from the writings of the Fathers, and occasionally to add something after the pattern of their sense and interpretation."

After his ordination Bede's time seems to have been



employed in prayer, study, teaching, and writing. He had excellent and pious exemplars—Ceolfred, Benedict Biscop, John of Hexham, Trumhere, John formerly a precentor at S. Peter's and abbot of S. Martin's in Rome (who came over to England with Benedict Biscop and taught Bede the Church chant), Archbishop Theodore, and others.

Bede's marvellous attainments seem to have embraced all the knowledge of his time. He was a musician, a scientist, a poet, a Greek scholar,<sup>1</sup> a commentator, a copyist, a historian—in short, he applied himself to every branch of literature then known. Amongst his pupils and literary friends were Abbot Huetbert, the monks Cuthbert and Constantine, Nothelm, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Alcuin, Abbot of Canterbury, to most of whom he inscribed some particular work—and Acca, at whose request he undertook to write a commentary on the Holy Scriptures.

A great portion of thirty years Bede devoted to literary work. "In the nineteenth year of my age," he writes, "I received deacon's orders; in the thirtieth those of the priesthood, both of them by the ministry of

<sup>1</sup> It has been said that Bede gained his knowledge of Greek from Archbishop Theodore or from Abbot Hadrian. This is unlikely. In most of the monasteries there was some knowledge of Greek. Moreover Bede wrote his commentaries, which show a knowledge of the language, before Theodore arrived. Even in Iona—and most likely in Lindisfarne—Greek was known. Adamnan was familiar with the best Latin authors and had some knowledge of the Greek also. Greek characters are found in his earliest MSS. (*Insula Sanct. et Doct.*).

the most reverend Bishop John, and by order of the Abbot Ceolfrid. From which time, till the fifty-ninth year of my age, I have made it my business, for the use of me and mine, to compile out of the works of the venerable Fathers, and to interpret and explain according to their meaning these following pieces :

“On the Beginning of Genesis, to the Nativity of Isaac and the Reprobation of Ismael, three books.

Of the Tabernacle and its Vessels, and of the Priestly Vestments three books.

On the first Part of Samuel, to the Death of Saul, four books.

On the Building of the Temple, of Allegorical Exposition, like the rest, two books.

Item, on the Book of Kings, thirty questions. On Solomon's Proverbs, three books.

On the Canticles, seven books.

On Isaiah, Daniel, the twelve Prophets, and part of Jeremiah, Distinctions of Chapters, collected out of St. Jerome's Treatise.

On Esdras and Nehemiah, three books.

On the Song of Habacuc, one book.

On the Book of the blessed Father Tobias, one book of Allegorical Exposition concerning Christ and the Church.

Also, chapters of Readings on Moses's Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges.

On the Books of Kings and Chronicles.

On the Book of the blessed Father Job.

On the Parables, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles.

On the Prophets Isaiah, Esdras, and Nehemiah.

On the Gospel of Mark, four books.

On the Gospel of Luke, six books.

Of Homilies on the Gospel, two books.

On the Apostle, I have carefully transcribed in order all that I have found in St. Augustine's Works.

On the Acts of the Apostles, two books.

On the seven Catholic Epistles, a book on each.

On the Revelation of St. John, three books.

Also chapters of Readings on all the New Testament, except the Gospel.

Also a book of Epistles to different persons, of which one is of the six ages of the world; one of the Mansions of the Children of Israel; one on the words of Isaiah, 'And they shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days shall they be visited;' one of the Reason of the Bissextile, or Leap-year, and of the Equinox, according to Anatolius.

Also, of the Histories of Saints. I translated the Book of the Life and Passion of St. Felix, Confessor, from Paulinus's work in metre, into prose.

The Book of the Life and Passion of St. Anastasius, which was ill translated from the Greek, and worse amended by some unskilful person, I have corrected as to the sense.

I have written the Life of the Holy Father Cuthbert, who was both monk and prelate, first in heroic verse, and then in prose.

The History of the Abbots of this Monastery, in which I rejoice to serve the Divine Goodness, viz. Benedict, Ceolfrid, and Huethbert, in two books.

The Ecclesiastical History of our Island and Nation, in five books.

The martyrology of the Birth-days of the Holy Martyrs, in which I have carefully endeavoured to set down all that I could find, and not only on what day, but also by what sort of combat, and under what judge they overcame the world.

A Book of Hymns in several sorts of metre or rhyme.

A Book of Epigrams in heroic or elegiac verse of the Nature of Things, and of the Times, one book of each.

Also, of the Times, one larger book.

A book of Orthography digested in Alphabetical Order.

Also a Book of the Art of Poetry; and to it I have added another little Book of Tropes and Figures, that is, of the Figures and Manners of Speaking in which the Holy Scriptures are written.

And now, I beseech Thee, Good Jesus, that to whom Thou hast graciously granted sweetly to partake of the words of Thy wisdom and knowledge, Thou wilt also vouchsafe that he may sometime or other come to Thee, the fountain of all wisdom, and always appear before Thy Face who livest and reignest world without end. Amen."

To have accomplished so much is really marvellous. Literary work had a fascination for Bede. He was a man with extraordinary powers of application. His engrossing literary labours are said to have prevented him accepting the dignity of Abbot, the cares of which office would have interfered considerably with his leisure for his favourite pursuits—"The office demands thoughtfulness, and thoughtfulness brings with it distraction of mind, which impedes the pursuit of learning."

Bede himself was no traveller—he gleaned his information from others, and from the valuable library in the monastery. Yet it has been asserted that he visited Rome, disputed at Cambridge, and travelled to York to assist in the new school established by Archbishop Egbert, who was one of Bede's pupils.

The statement respecting his visit to Rome arose from a letter to Ceolfrid given by William of Malmesbury purporting to be an invitation from Pope Sergius. It has been conclusively proved that the name of Bede was unjustifiably interpolated by William of Malmesbury. The letter really requested Ceolfrid to send a "religiosus Dei nostri famulus" to take counsel about some "capitula ecclesiasticarum causarum" (*Stevenson*, quoted by *Moberly*).

Below is a translation of the letter, by William of Malmesbury :

*"Sergius, Bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to Ceolfrid, the holy abbot and priest, sendeth greeting.—Yielding to the timely*

and worthy prayers of your laudable anxiety with the closest devotion, we entreat of your pious goodness, so acceptable to God, that since there have occurred certain points of ecclesiastical discipline, which should not be published without more matured deliberation, which have made it necessary for us to confer with a person skilled in the literature of the arts, as becomes an assistant of God's Holy Catholic Mother-Church, you would not delay paying ready obedience to this our admonition, but would send without loss of time to our lowly presence at the venerable Church of the chief Apostles, your friends and protectors, the lords Peter and Paul, Bede, a religious servant of God, a venerable priest of your monastery, whom, God willing, you may expect to return in safety, when, by God's permission, the necessary discussion of these aforesaid points shall have been solemnly completed. For whatever shall be advantageously added to the Church at large, and to the holy and devout College, will, we trust, be profitable to all those persons also who are committed to your own immediate care" (*Gesta Regum*, § 57, vol. i.).

The invitation may probably have been intended for Bede, but was not accepted by him, perhaps on account of the death of Sergius. Bede tells us that his whole life was spent in the neighbourhood of Jarrow, and that much information contained in his *Ecclesiastical History* was procured for him by others. Bede's residence at Cambridge is pure fiction. The assertion rests on a statement in the *Liber Niger* to the effect that Bede "at the request of Doctor Wilfrid, and at the bidding of Abbot Ceolfrid, left the territory belonging to the monastery of S. Peter and S. Paul, and being even then a monk in mind and discipline, though not in dress, to have gone in the year 682 to Cambridge, where, by sowing the seeds of knowledge for himself and others by writing books and teaching the ignorant,

he was of use before God and man in eradicating errors."

There is no support or reference in any of Bede's writings. The assertion is opposed to them. A letter ascribed to Alcuin to the Students of Cambridge, in which allusion is made to Bede being still alive, is a forgery (*Dr. Giles*). In the same way the University of Oxford at one time claimed S. John of Beverley as an alumnus—the University of Oxford did not exist in S. John's day.

It is questionable whether Bede was able to accept Egbert's invitation to visit York in 734. Dr. Stubbs thinks that he did. Dr. Giles thinks he was unable to comply in consequence of infirmity. Bede's letter to Egbert was his last work. It bears testimony to the decay of religious zeal which was everywhere apparent. Cupidity, luxury, and worse vices were eating into the very life of the Church. Reformation was imperative. Personal holiness in teachers, study and meditation, were at that time most desirable. There was need of more priests; the unlearned should have the Creed and Lord's Prayer translated into their mother-tongue; and the episcopate should be extended. Bede also advised Egbert to obtain the pall.

Bede died in less than a year after he had addressed this letter to Egbert. A more graphic and pathetic description of his last days than that of Cuthbert

(Antonius) could not be penned, therefore it is here inserted :

“About a fortnight before Easter he began to be much troubled with shortness of breath, yet without pain, and from this time till the day of Our Lord’s Ascension, that is, the seventh before the kalends of June (May 26), he passed his time cheerful and rejoicing, giving thanks to God day and night. Every day he gave lessons to us (his scholars), and whatever remained of the day he spent in singing psalms. The whole night, with short intervals of sleep, he watched with joy and thanksgiving. On waking, he would repeat the customary offices, and ceased not to give thanks to God with uplifted hands. O truly blessed man! He sang that sentence of the blessed Apostle Paul, ‘It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God,’ and many other passages of holy writ. And being learned in our poetry, he sang some things in our tongue. He also sang antiphons, according to our custom and his own, one of which was, ‘O King of Glory, Lord of Hosts, who hast this day ascended in triumph above all heavens, leave us not orphans, but send upon us the promise of the Father, the spirit of truth; Alleluia!’ When he came to the words, ‘Leave us not orphans,’ he burst into tears, and wept much. An hour after he began to repeat what he had said before, and we, as we heard him, mourned with him. By turns we read, by turns we wept, nay we ever wept as we read. In such gladness we passed the Quinquagesimal days (that is, the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost), until the (Ascension) day aforesaid, and he, with much joy, gave thanks to God that he was worthy to be so afflicted. He often used to repeat, ‘God scourgeth every son whom he receiveth,’ and many other texts, also the saying of Saint Ambrose, ‘I have not lived so as to be ashamed to live among you; nor do I fear to die, for we have a gracious God.’

“During those days, besides the lessons he gave us, and the singing of Psalms, he went on with the composition of two little works, worthy to be remembered, namely, the translation of the Gospel of St. John into our language for the use of the Church, and some extracts from the Notes of Bishop Isidore, saying, ‘I would not that my pupils should read falsehoods, or labour fruitlessly in this, after my death.’

“On the Tuesday before the Ascension of the Lord, he began to suffer still more in his breathing, and a small swelling appeared in his feet. But he passed the whole day in teaching, and dictated to us cheerfully, saying sometimes, ‘Make haste to learn; I know not how long I shall hold out, and whether my Maker will not soon take me away.’ To us, however, it seemed as if he well knew when he should depart, and so he passed the whole night, awake, in thanksgiving. When the morning appeared, that is Wednesday, he ordered us to write diligently what we had begun. After this, we walked in procession until the third hour (9 A.M.) with the relics of the Saints, according to the custom of that day. But one of us remained with him, who said to him, ‘Dearest master, there is still one chapter wanting; does it seem difficult to you to answer any more questions?’ He answered, ‘It is easy. Take thy pen, be quiet, and write quickly.’ This he did. At the ninth hour (3 P.M.) he said to me, ‘There are some valuables in my little box—pepper, handkerchiefs, and incense.<sup>1</sup> Run quickly, and bring the priests of our monastery here to me, that I may distribute among them some little presents such as God has given me. The rich in this world aim at giving gold, and silver, and other precious things; but I, with much love and joy, give to my brethren what God has given unto me.’ He spoke to every one of them, entreating that masses and prayers should be diligently offered for him, which they willingly promised. But they all mourned and wept, especially because he said that they should see his face no more in this world. Yet they rejoiced when he said, ‘It is time that I should return to Him who made me, who created me, who formed me out of nothing. I have lived a long time; my merciful Judge has well ordered my life for me. The time of my dissolution is at hand, for I desire to depart and to be with Christ.’ Speaking thus, and with many other like words, he passed the day joyfully until the evening. Then the youth above mentioned said, ‘Dear master,

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<sup>1</sup> Pepper was a very scarce and valuable spice in those days. A silken scarf or handkerchief in old English times was a gift of affection and friendship. These tokens of mutual charity would cause the brethren to remember Bede in the Divine Office. S. Lullus sent the Abbess Kaneboda a present of pepper, incense, and cinnamon. Alaric's demands from the Romans on raising the siege in A.D. 409 included 3000 lbs. of pepper (*Gibbon*, c. xxxi.).



there is yet one sentence not written.' He answered, 'Write quickly.' After a short space the youth said, 'The sentence is now written.' He replied, 'It is well; thou hast said truly, it is finished. Take my head into your hands, for it pleases me much to sit over against the holy place where I was wont to pray; that so sitting, I may call upon my Father.' Thus, sitting upon the pavement of his little cell, singing 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' when he had named the 'Holy Ghost' he drew his last breath, and so departed to the heavenly kingdom. All who were present at the death of the blessed father declared that they had never seen anyone finish his life with so great devotion, and in so tranquil a frame of mind; for, as you have heard, so long as the soul was in the body he ceased not to say, 'Glory be to the Father,' and other spiritual words, and with outstretched hands to give thanks to the living and true God."

Bede's body was buried in the south porch of the church of S. Paul at Jarrow where he had lived and laboured so lovingly. William of Malmesbury says that the following epitaph was placed over his tomb:

"Presbyter hic requiescit carne sepultus  
Dona, Christe, animam in cœlis gaudere per ævum,  
Daque illi sophiæ debriari fonte, cui jam  
Suspiravit ovans intento semper amore."

#### TRANSLATION.

"Beneath this stone Bede's mortal body lies,  
God grant his soul may rest amid the skies;  
May he drink deeply in the realms above  
Of Wisdom's fount, which he on earth did love."

In 1020 or 1022 a monk of Durham, Alfred Westow, a notorious relic hunter, had charge of S. Cuthbert's body. This Dunelmian Angilbert surreptitiously conveyed Bede's bones to S. Cuthbert's shrine at Durham.

Stealing relics was considered to be a "good work" in those days.

"It was his custom also annually to visit the monastery of Jarrow (in which, as he was aware, the Doctor Bede had lived, died, and was buried) upon the approach of the day of his decease, and there to devote himself to prayers and watchings. Upon a certain occasion he went thither as usual, and after having spent some days there within the church in solitude, praying and watching, very early in the morning he returned alone to Durham (a thing which he had never done before), while his companions were ignorant of his departure, for he seemed like one who did not choose to have any witness of his secret. Although he survived this event many years, he did not trouble himself ever again to visit the same monastery of Jarrow, but he conducted himself like a person who had secured the object of his desires. Being frequently asked by his intimate friends where was the resting-place of the bones of the Venerable Bede, his usual answer (given with the promptitude of a man who knew what he was talking about) was to this effect:—'No one knows better about this than I do. Dearly beloved, consider this as a thing most firmly and most certainly established, that the same shrine which contains the most holy body of the father Cuthbert contains also the bones of the teacher and monk Bede. Let no one seek for any portion of his relics outside the covering of this shrine.' Having thus spoken, he enjoined his friends to keep the matter quiet, lest the strangers who were resident in that Church should plot some treachery; for their most anxious wish was to carry off, if it were possible, the relics of the saints, and chiefly those of Bede and Cuthbert; as has been already mentioned, he took care to do this in private. It is well known that his bones were those which were discovered many years subsequently, wrapped up by themselves, in a little linen bag, and deposited along with the uncorrupted body of Father Cuthbert."

At the instance of Richard de Castro Bernardi the relics were afterwards (1370) removed into the Galilee, or Lady Chapel. They were placed in front of his

altar, where they were enclosed in a magnificent shrine of gold and silver made by the order of Bishop Pudsey. At the suppression of the convent of Durham the shrine was defaced and the bones were interred "under the same place where his shrine was before erected." There they lay undisturbed until 1830, when the grave was opened and "examined into down to the level of the pavement upon which it stands, and perhaps somewhat deeper, and the only discoveries then made were a few Abbey pieces, a half-crown of William and Mary, a French coin which had probably been pushed through the crevices in the masonry from time to time."

In 1831 further investigations were made. The results were more interesting and satisfactory :

"On May 27 in the above year, by a singular coincidence the day of Bede's anniversary, the tomb was again removed, when, after finding a few more Abbey pieces in their course downwards, the workmen, at the depth of about three feet from the level of the floor, came in contact with the following human bones, which, although by no means furnishing the full complement of those belonging to a perfect skeleton, appeared, nevertheless, to have been purposely arranged in their respective places, in a coffin of the full size, of which, although in a very decomposed state, there were numerous traces. 1. The pulvarium, tolerably perfect, consisting of the *os frontis*, and the *ossa parietalia*, the former so remarkably flat . . . that a cast was made of the whole bone before its reinterment. 2. The *ossa temporalia*, and portions of the bones of the basis of the skull. 3. The lower jaw, apparently that of a man advanced in years or who had lost the greater part of his teeth at an early age; the cavities from which the teeth had fallen had disappeared in the bone, so that a considerable portion of time must have intervened between that period and the death of the

individual to whom the jaw had belonged. 4. A portion of the malar bones. 5. The heads of both the humeri. 6. The radius and ulna of one forearm. 7. The os humeri of the other. 8. A portion of the sternum. 9. The thigh bones. 10. Eight bones of the tarsi of the feet. The above bones were found, as we have already stated, stretched along a space of nearly six feet in length, and that the grave had contained no other human remains was proved by a very careful investigation. For this fact we can perhaps give a reason. Bede's bones, real or reputed, for this is a matter into which we have no inclination to inquire, were widely dispersed—much, we dare say, to the profit of the man who is reported to have stolen them from their first resting-place at Jarrow. There were few monasteries in England which could not boast of some of them; and even now, in more than one church upon the Continent, the curious in these matters may see some of his ribs. We must not omit to mention, that in the upper part of the grave, apparently in the place which the right hand would have occupied if elevated for the benediction, was discovered a massy ring of iron, plated with a thick coat of gold, and containing upon a boss the device of a cinquefoil, a common ornament at the time of the Dissolution, when these bones were buried. . . . the ring . . . was lined internally with one or two folds of thick woollen cloth, to accommodate it apparently to the substance upon which it had been placed; but of that substance no characteristic trace remained. The ring and the Abbey pieces were placed in the library along with the coins, etc., discovered during the previous imperfect investigation first mentioned. The bones were, the day afterwards, reinterred in a box of oak, covered with lead, in which was inclosed a memorial upon parchment of the whole particulars of the exhumation, and then, upon the upper slab of the tomb, which was carefully replaced, was cut soon afterwards the old inscription—*‘Hac sunt in Fossa Bædæ Venerabilis Ossa’* (*Dr. Raine*).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “VENERABLE.”—Trithemius imagined that this title was given to him in his lifetime, but the earliest extant work in which he is called “Venerable” belongs to the middle of the tenth century. Bede himself applies the epithet to Benedict Biscop and Easterwine. An early annalist who continued his work calls him *Presbyter Beda*. He is also called *Dominus Beda* = Sir = a title given to a priest without an

Testimonies to Bede's greatness abound. Lullus, Archbishop of Mayence, an Englishman educated at Malmesbury, and at Jarrow under the Venerable Bede, and who afterwards joined his cousin S. Boniface in his labours in Germany, wrote to Cuthbert, abbot of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, for a copy of Bede's works, at the same time sending a cloak for Cuthbert's use and a silk vest to cover Bede's shrine. This gift shows how greatly esteemed and loved he was, for the "vest" was a usual present to kings.

A French bishop, when visiting Durham, made offerings at the shrines of S. Cuthbert and S. Bede.

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university degree to the time of the Reformation. In the Middle Ages such epithets as "Venerable," "Angelic Doctor," "Seraphic Doctor" were general. Champeaux was called Doctor Venerabilis. Peter, Abbot of Clugny, was surnamed the Venerable. Milner urges that since so ignorant and so trifling a writer was honoured with a title so magnificent it was one of the strongest marks of the low state of religious knowledge in general at that time. Maitland in reply says, "Peter was a man, if not of more critical knowledge, yet not deficient in secular learning, and certainly of more extensive reading and real knowledge of the history of the Church to which he belonged, than the historian who has held him up, not merely to scorn, but as a sort of proof and specimen of the barbarism of his age. If I were his panegyrist I should claim some respect for the literary enterprise (even from those who would not give it to the Christian zeal) of the man who gave to the West a translation of the Alcoran" (*Dark Ages*, p. 453). According to legend the word *Venerabilis* on Bede's tomb was supplied by an angel. A monk who was unable to complete the line of the epitaph fell asleep in despair. When he awoke he found that the hiatus had been miraculously supplied. This legend may be classed with many of like nature, *e.g.* an artist employed by S. Theresa to paint our Lord at the column as she beheld him in a vision failed to express her ideas. His picture was finished to perfection by an angel-artist. By divine influence the portrait of S. Jerome and the lion was found traced on the mottlings of a jasper.

At the former he offered a bawbee, smallest Scotch coin, with the words—"If thou art a saint pray for me." At Bede's shrine he offered a crown, saying—"Thou art a saint, pray for me."

Few men have received higher encomia from contemporaries and from posterity than Bede. All sing his praises and extol the name of him who was "a phenomenon it is easier to praise than to parallel."

Alcuin said—"His sanctity was attested by the voice from heaven after his death; for a sick man was freed from a fever upon the spot by touching his relics"; and Boniface described him as "the Lamp of the English Church."

Lanfranc styled him "The Father of the English"; Leland as "The chiefest and brightest ornament of the English nation, most worthy, if ever any one was, of immortal fame;" and Melanchthon as "A person singularly skilled in Greek and Latin; also in mathematics, philosophy, and sacred literature." John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, said that "He certainly surpassed Gregory the Great in eloquence and copiousness of style, and that there was scarce anything in all antiquity worthy to be read which was not found in Bede."

Dr. John Pitts wrote—"Europe scarce ever produced a greater scholar; and that even while he was living his writings were of so great authority that a council ordered them to be publicly read in the churches."

Folchard—"It is amazing how this great man became

so perfect in all branches of those sciences to which he applied himself, whereby he conquered all difficulties, and brought those of his own nation to form right notions ; so that from the rude and boorish manners of their ancestors they began to be exceedingly civilised and polite through their desire of learning, of which he not only taught them the grounds while living, but in his works left them a kind of encyclopedia (or universal library) for the instruction of youth after his decease."

Fuller—"He translated almost all the Bible, translated the Psalms and New Testament into English, and lived a comment on those words of the Apostle—'shining as a light in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation.'"

Green—"First among English scholars, first among English theologians, first among English historians, it is in the monk of Jarrow that English learning strikes its roots."

Archdeacon Hardwick—"So ardent was his thirst for learning that it urged him into almost every field of mediæval study . . . his expository works, comprising sermons and commentaries, evince a knowledge both of Greek and Hebrew ; in their style and spirit, and in much also of their material, they resemble the more ancient writings of the Fathers, and especially of S. Augustine."

Surtees the historian—"The lamp of learning

trimmed by the hand of a single monastic, who never passed the limits of his northern province, irradiated from the cell of Jarrow the Saxon realm of England with a clear, steady light; and when Bede died, history reversed her torch, and quenched it in deep night."



## CYNEWULF, 740

Meagre details of his episcopate—King Eadbert—Quarrel between Bishop and King—King abdicates—Oswulf—Ethelwold Moll—Alcred—Lullus—Ethelred—Exiled—Alfwold—Cynewulf resigns.

VERY little information respecting the lives of the successors of Ethelwold is obtainable. Bede, to whom most historians are indebted, died several years before Cynewulf's consecration. Disorder, anarchy, lawlessness, and bloodshed, anticipated by the Monk of Jarrow, became painfully evident a few years after his death. The quick succession of rulers shows the unsettled state of affairs in Northumbria. "Black night" fell upon the kingdom. The weakness of governments made it a prey to invaders and marauders. Pious ecclesiastics discovered the wrath of God in scourge, famine, and invasion. The sword of judgment seemed to be drawn for the chastisement of the Church and people on account of their apostasy.

The daughter-Church of Mercia was in a healthier condition. She had a liberal patron and powerful protector in Offa, "the king of the nation of the English,"

who occupied the most important place in the "national" history of the century.

In 740 Eadbert made a second expedition to Strathclyde. During his absence Offa, a pretender, aspired to the government. On Eadbert's return he fled to Lindisfarne for sanctuary. Eadbert demanded him, but Cynewulf declined to transgress the laws of sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> The Prince was slain and the Bishop dragged to Bamburgh, where he was imprisoned. During his confinement the affairs of the diocese were administered by the Bishop of Hexham. When Eadbert and Cynewulf were reconciled, the Bishop returned to Lindisfarne.

Eadbert's successes on the Clyde were short-lived.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the earliest mention of sanctuary or asylum, in the history of Northumbria, though the privilege must have long existed. Winchester and Westminster are said to have had the right of sanctuary a hundred and forty years before the time of Cynewulf. The native Christians would not be behind their brethren abroad, or even the Druids, who had sacred trees known as *asyla*. Ina, about 690, enacted that if a person who had committed a capital offence should fly to a church he should preserve his life and make satisfaction as right required, and that if any one deserving stripes should fly to a church the punishment should be forgiven him. The case of Cynewulf illustrates a custom of regarding the Bishop as an intercessor. Various changes in the law were made from time to time. In the eighth century the privilege was denied to criminals who deserved death. People were forbidden to give food to such refugees. Sanctuary was limited to forty days. The practice was greatly abused in the Middle Ages. Henry VII. persuaded Innocent VIII. to make certain important changes—(1) if a man enjoying sanctuary committed a further offence against the laws of his country he should at once and for ever forfeit the benefit of sanctuary; (2) benefit of sanctuary should be strictly limited to a man's personal safety, and in no way apply to the protection of his property; (3) when treason was the motive for seeking sanctuary the King might have the offender specially looked to. Eadbert may have anticipated the third article.

In August 756, shortly after the fall of Dumbarton, he was surprised by the Britons, and his followers were almost annihilated. He not only lost territory but also the confidence of other British kings. The reverse had a terrible effect upon his mind, and it shook his kingdom to its foundations. He was obliged to remove his court from Bamburgh to Corbridge for safety owing to anticipated attacks of his northern neighbours. He left a High Reeve<sup>1</sup> at Bamburgh. Eadbert intended to abdicate, in favour of Oswulf to the detriment of Ethelwold Moll, the acknowledged patrician.<sup>2</sup> Eadbert

<sup>1</sup> Reeve (Sax. *gerefa*), a name applied to officials generally charged with the management of some territorial division. The most important was the *shire-reeve* = sheriff. The term is used in *high-reeve* (*heah-gerefa*), *port-reeve* (*port-gerefa*), *borough-reeve* (*burh-gerefa*), and *wic-gerefa*, etc. (*J. M. Ashley*). Before the Conquest the sheriff was nominated by the Crown, though in very early times he may have been chosen by the people in the folkmoot. He acted as the King's steward, collecting and administering the royal dues in his shire, and presiding over the shiremoot, or assembly of freeholders. . By the Normans the sheriff was identified with the viscount (*vice comes*), and the shire was called a county, etc. (*Hunt*). After the removal of the Northumbrian Court to Corbridge, Bamburgh appears to have been the seat of a line of high-reeves who claimed descent from a daughter of King Egfrid, and were themselves the direct ancestors of most of the great earls who were to rule Northumberland from the tenth far into the twelfth century. Contrary to the usage then obtaining in English families, each generation of these high-reeves seems to have clung tenaciously to the name of Edwulf. The cradle of their race was probably the village of Edlingham (*Eadwulfingham*), which remained long after the Conquest a centre of English influence in the hands of their descendants (*J. C. Bates*).

<sup>2</sup> Patrician = the Etheling or heir presumptive, one of noble (*cethal*) blood. In Northumbria, to avoid disputes, the King and Witan usually agreed upon a successor to the throne, generally selected from the relations of the reigning king. In the ninth century the title of Etheling was confined exclusively to the princes of the blood-royal. He was superior in dignity to all men but the King and the great functionaries of the Church.

endeavoured to conciliate him by giving him the possessions of three monasteries in Deira. Paul, the Bishop of Rome, censured Eadburt for doing so. He afterwards retired to York, where his brother Egbert was archbishop.

Oswulf did not long enjoy his position. In July 759 he was assassinated by certain officers of his household at Great Whittington, a village about seven miles N.E. of Corbridge.

Ethelwold Moll then came to the throne, but the brother of Oswulf, Oswin, took up arms against him. Oswin was wounded in a pitched battle near Melrose.

The unsettled state of affairs was fraught with grave consequences. Matters called for combined and authoritative action. A Witan assembled at Finchale (765) with the object of terminating feuds. Ethelwold Moll was deposed and Alcred (Alured), an independent prince, was chosen king. The arrangement led to further complications. Alcred married Osgeofu, daughter of Oswulf, in order to strengthen his claim. The King and Queen realized that many perils engirdled the throne. Appeal to the people for unity and loyalty was fruitless. The prayers of the Church were solicited. Alcred and Osgeofu also appealed to their friend Lullus, the Bishop of Mayence, for his intercessions in their behalf. The letter was accompanied by gifts, including a gold ring and a dozen hooded cloaks. At Easter 774 the climax came. The Witan deposed Alcred, who fled

to Bamburgh, and thence to the court of Kenneth, the Pictish king.

Ethelred, the son of Ethelwold Moll, was selected by the Witan as Alcred's successor, and was crowned at York, 774. A few years afterwards (778 or 779) he also was an exile. Alfwald, "the friend of God," son of Oswulf, succeeded Ethelred, and reigned nearly ten years.

In 780 Cynewulf, who had been Bishop of Lindisfarne for forty years, with the consent of the community appointed Higbald coadjutor, with the right of succession. Cynewulf died in 783.

## HIGBALD, 780.

Apostasy and anarchy—The Northmen at Whitby—Synod at Finchale—Papal “legates”—Murder of Alfwold—Osred—Ethelred I.—Sack of Lindisfarne by the Northmen—Jarrow and Wearmouth—Higbald—Death (803)—The synod of Pincanhalth.

HIGBALD, for some time Cynewulf’s coadjutor, had an eventful episcopate.

The Church was in a most distressed state. Apostasy and anarchy were rife. The prophecies of earnest and godly Churchmen seemed about to be fulfilled. The heavens gave unmistakable signs of the oncoming chastisement. The people were startled by strange signs and omens—“whirlwinds, lightnings, and fiery dragons flying in the air.”

The sword of chastisement fell in 787, when the savage Northmen descended upon the coasts. Whitby was probably the first place attacked. Opposition was feeble. The chief men were murdered. The freebooters laid hands upon everything of value; the Whitby monastery was pillaged, and much treasure, such as gold and silver vessels, MSS. and vestments, carried

away. In the same year (787) a synod was held at Finchale, where the first papal legate<sup>1</sup> accredited to Northumbria, George, Bishop of Ostia, was received by King Alfwold. As the Bishop of Hexham signed the decrees immediately after the King and before the Archbishop of York, it is thought that Finchale was in the diocese of Hexham at that time. The papal legate did not sign the acts, and no precedence was given to him and his companions. They set forward no claim or authority—assertions which would have been extremely irritating to the national prejudice. They came merely “to renew the faith and peace which Gregory had sent by Augustine the Bishop,” and to address the civil rulers with respect to the summoning of councils. That was also their attitude at Chelsea in the same year. For over two hundred years papal legations were extremely rare. In later years, under the influence and inspiration of arrogant popes, legates became particularly obnoxious to the English, and their presumption called for decisive action.

Shortly after this synod, the King, Alfwold the Just, was murdered by the patrician Sicgan, at “Scythles-

<sup>1</sup> John the Archchanter was probably the first papal legate to England. At Hatfield (September 680) he joined others in confirming the decrees of the Catholic faith, and declared the orthodoxy of the English Church. The council was summoned by the English and presided over by Theodore. The decrees of the Lateran Synod (649) brought over by John on the suggestion of Pope Agatho were read and approved. A copy of the decrees was made by a scribe at Wearmouth.

chester " near the wall.<sup>1</sup> A miraculous light is said to have been seen on the spot where he was slain, and a church was afterwards built there in his honour, and dedicated to SS. Cuthbert and Oswald. The body of the King was interred in the abbey church of Hexham, and a monument erected over the place of sepulture.<sup>2</sup>

Sicgan was not allowed to take the reins of government; and as it was impossible for the two infant sons of Alfwold to succeed their father, Osred, son of the deposed Alcred, ascended the throne. He ruled for a short time, and was soon forced to submit to the tonsure at York. He afterwards escaped to the Isle of Man.

Ethelred I., who had been imprisoned for some time, was then placed upon the throne. Well-wishers imagined that he was strong enough to terminate the anarchy and confusion. They were mistaken and disappointed. He was a man of blood. By his orders the high-reeve (Edwulf) was led to execution, and left for dead. Ethelred drowned the young sons of Alfwold in Windermere, and beheaded Osred who had attempted to recover his crown.<sup>3</sup> Thus did he rid himself of rivals, and stamped out the succession of the royal Ocgings. His bloody work was crowned by his marriage with Elfreda, daughter of Offa.

<sup>1</sup> Probably near Corbridge. Not Cilurnum.

<sup>2</sup> There is now a thirteenth-century monument, which probably replaced an older one to Alfwold's memory.

<sup>3</sup> He was slain near Maryport, Cumberland, and his body was buried at Tynemouth.



On June 7, 793, the dreaded Northmen landed at Lindisfarne and proceeded to profane the sanctuary and to destroy the altars. Some of the monks were slain and others were drowned. The portable treasures left by the monks who managed to escape were carried off by the despoilers, who, before leaving, broke off the head of Ethelwold's cross.<sup>1</sup>

Higbald was amongst those who were fortunate to escape. The monks were horrified at the excesses of their foes, and expected that they would desecrate and mutilate the tomb and corpse of their holy father, Cuthbert.

In the succeeding year the Northmen descended upon Jarrow and Wearmouth. On the mainland they were met by the English in deadly struggle. At Jarrow, the leader of the expedition, Ragnar Lodbrog, was slain<sup>2</sup>; some of his followers, who escaped the fury of the inhabitants, met the fury of the gale, which drove their ships ashore and the crews were speedily dispatched. The catastrophe might have been avoided if Ragnar Lodbrog had listened to the counsel of his wife, who advised him not to sail into shallow water with large ships. As Xerxes would not listen to the recommendation of Artemisia, Queen of Halicarnassus, and suffered complete defeat in consequence, so the

<sup>1</sup> See lives of Ethelwold and Cuthbert.

<sup>2</sup> He is said to have been cast into a pit full of snakes, which gnawed at his vitals.

fearless and rash Northman paid the penalty of his heedlessness to sensible advice.

After the departure of the heathen, the surviving members of the community returned to their old home. They found that the shrine of S. Cuthbert had not been destroyed, or the body disturbed, and quickly began to set their house in order and repair the damage.

In 796 (April 18) Ethelred the bloody tyrant was murdered at Corbridge by the high-reeve Aldred. Osbald, the patrician and renegade monk, was made his successor, reigned less than a month, and then fled northwards. Eardulf, who had miraculously escaped the sword of Ethelred at Ripon, succeeded him and was crowned at York.

Higbald assisted at the consecration of Eanbald II. as Archbishop of York, in 796, at Sockburn. Symeon of Durham records the event: "and shortly afterwards, that is on the fourth of the ides of August, Eanbald, the Archbishop, died in the monastery which is called *Ætlæte*. But immediately afterwards another Eanbald, a presbyter of the same Church, was elected to the episcopate, Ethelbert and Hygbald and also Badulf the bishops, coming to his ordination in the monastery which is called Sochasburg, on Lord's day, the 18th of the kalends of September."

Higbald died in 803, having ruled the Church from Lindisfarne during one of the most turbulent and tragic periods of Northumbrian history.

During this same period an important synod was held at Pincanhalth,<sup>1</sup> some place in Northumbria, which was attended by many ecclesiastics and principal laymen, who “consulted on many things affecting the interest of God’s holy Church and the nation of the Northumbrians and of all the provinces, and concerning the observance of the Paschal feast, and of decisions divine and secular, which were made in the days of righteous kings and good dukes and holy bishops and other wise men, monks and clerics, of whose wisdom and justice and divine virtues the state of the kingdom of the Northumbrians was at that time sweetly and unspeakably redolent. They took care by wise counsel to make arrangements for the honour of God and the necessities of His servants, and to augment the service of God, that for these things they might receive the good recompense of eternal reward.” Having confirmed the articles of the Synod of Hatfield, they returned home praising God (*Symeon of Durham*, quoted by Rev. Charles Hole, B.A.).

<sup>1</sup> Said to be Finchale.

## EGBERT, 803

Consecration—Unsettled state of the kingdom—King Eardulf exiled—Alfwold—Eardwulf—Enred—Court of Charles the Great—His influence in England—Angus Mac Fergus—Extinction of the sees of Hexham and Whitherne—Death of Egbert (821)—ALCUIN—At York—Famous library—Visits Rome—Ordained deacon—Rome—Charles—Pavia—Rome for Pall—Resides at court—Visits Northumbria (790)—Returns to the Continent (792)—“Abbot” of S. Martin’s, etc.—Death—His work and influence—His colleague Theodulf.

EGBERT was consecrated twelfth Bishop of Lindisfarne by the Archbishop of York (Eanbald), assisted by Eanbert of Hexham, Badulf of Whitherne, and others, at Bywell S. Andrew’s, on Trinity Sunday, June 11, 803. There are no records of his work. The Church had not recovered from the horror caused by the descent of the Northmen on Lindisfarne and other places.

The weakness of the government and consequent unrest caused dire forebodings to thoughtful and earnest men, whilst the friendly warnings and prophecies of Alcuin<sup>1</sup> intensified their concern. Religion lost its

<sup>1</sup> “Fear the scourge which has come upon the Church of S. Cuthbert, a place most holy, abundantly enriched with the prayers of many saints, but now miserably wasted by Pagans. He who does not

hold on the majority. Kings broke through its restraints. Eardulf, who owed the preservation of his life to the monks of Ripon, who gave him sanctuary before the executioner could dispatch him, flagrantly transgressed the laws of God and the kingdom. Without the least compunction he put away his wife and took a concubine. The murder of Alcmund, prince and saint, was due to his instigation. The Church was hostile to the King. From Alcuin's letters of this period it may be gathered that Eanbald II., Archbishop of York, was the champion of the oppressed, and failed not to censure the King's conduct. The Archbishop did so at his peril. Alcuin's exhortations imply the expectation of martyrdom on the part of Eanbald, whom he urged to stand fast as the standard-bearer of Christ, and to remember how the venerable Mattathias, under peril of death, exhorted his sons to contend against the Lord's adversaries, as well as the noble example of S. John Baptist when opposed to the secular power. Eardulf was also at variance with the court of Mercia, and in 806 was

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fear and correct himself, and pray in penitence to God for the prosperity of his country, has not a heart of flesh, but one of stone." . . . Again, he wrote, "Behold we and our fathers have for three hundred and fifty years been the inhabitants of this most fair land, and never before now has such a terror appeared as we have suffered from the pagans, nor could such a shipwreck have been thought possible. See the church of S. Cuthbert sprinkled with the blood of the saints of God, spoiled of all its adornments—the most venerable place in Britain given up to be the spoil of the heathen ; and where first, after the departure of Paulinus from York, the Christian religion took root among the Northumbrians, there it finds the beginning of sorrows and calamity," etc. etc.

driven from his throne. Like most of the enemies of Mercia, he wended his way to the court of Charles, and thence to Rome, where he was well received by Pope Leo III., who was generally found ready to commiserate with those in misfortune. Eanbald II., Archbishop of York, corresponded with Leo III., on Eardulf's expulsion, but what his attitude towards the King was is not easily understood. He returned home accompanied by Aldulf, the deacon, and the abbots of S. Amand and S. Omer as envoys of the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> Through this influential mediation Eardulf was allowed to displace Alfwold II., who had succeeded him when exiled. Eardulf died a year afterwards, and was succeeded by his son Enred.

Charles was ever ready to receive and shelter any enemies of Mercia, and they lost no opportunity of seeking his protection and hospitality. Northumbrian, East Anglian, Kentish, and West Saxon exiles were well received at his court, and many were advanced to posts of honour in his dominions. To Alcuin's influence has been attributed the Emperor's gracious treatment of his compatriots. But the interest of the Frankish court in English affairs was of earlier date. Pipin had offered

<sup>1</sup> Charles was crowned "Emperor and Augustus" at Christmas 800, when the Pope placed the crown upon his head and adored him after an ancient custom. His title ran, "Serenissimus Augustus a Deo coronatus, magnus et pacificus imperator, Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum et Longobardorum." The coronation was an act of rebellion on the part of the Pope.

to make an alliance with Eadbert, King of Northumbria, when he was attacked by Ethelbald of Mercia. Charles followed his father's policy, and came into collision with Mercia when Kent revolted and appealed to him for assistance. But Offa was no weakling. With expedition he reconquered Kent, and sent the Archbishop of Canterbury into exile for being concerned in a plot to bring Frankish troops into the field against him. A rival Archbishopric of Mercia was then created. War was probably averted by the diplomatic action of Alcuin; but the policy of the Franks after the deaths of Offa and Kenwulf undid their work and plunged their people into civil strife. The year 820 witnessed a great Pictish revival under Angus, son of Fergus. The influence of this upheaval was felt in all directions, and the extinction of two episcopal sees—Whitherne and Hexham—is attributed to it.

The following year Bishop Egbert died.

The influential position of Alcuin, the famous Northumbrian, demands a short notice in these pages. He is the last of the three great scholars whose works graced the annals of Northumbria during the period covered by this volume. Benedict Biscop, the Venerable Bede, and Alcuin are names which have commanded respect, veneration, and gratitude.

Alcuin was born of Northumbrian parents in the same year as Bede died (735). Therefore to call him "a disciple of Bede" is to acknowledge that he was

a studious reader of his works, and indebted to his noble example and inspirations.

The lamp of learning seems to have been carried south after Bede's death. Jarrow and Wearmouth, although the establishments where valuable literary and artistic treasures had been accumulated, were little heard of. The school of York came into prominence, and was regarded as the representative of those noble Northumbrian homes of learning and culture. Alcuin was one of the most promising pupils in Egbert's school at York. His education began with grammar, his biographer says, and led up through the liberal discipline of literature and philosophy to the study of the Holy Scriptures. It involved certainly a fair acquaintance with the Latin poets, some knowledge of the Greek Fathers, handed down from Theodore and Hadrian, and as much as could be learned from the study of S. Jerome. The library of York contained books in all the three languages, including the works of Aristotle and Cicero.

Bishop Healy claims Alcuin as a student of Clonmacnoise and a pupil of Colgu—"the blessed master and father of Albinus"<sup>1</sup>—for whom he retained the most affectionate veneration all through life. In a letter he complained that for some time past he was not deemed worthy to receive any of those letters "so precious in his sight from your Fatherhood," but that he daily felt

<sup>1</sup> Alcuin was also known by this name.



the benefit of his absent father's prayers. By the same messenger he added that he sent an alms of fifty sicles of silver from the bounty of King Charles, and fifty more from his own resources from the brotherhood. He also sent a quantity of oil, which was very difficult to procure in Ireland, and asked that it might be distributed amongst the bishops in God's honour for sacramental purposes (*Ins. Sanct. et Doct.* p. 272).

This is a characteristic desire to include renowned scholars amongst Irish worthies. Although Clonmacnoise may not have been Alcuin's *alma mater*, he may have entertained a warm affection for, and interest in, that venerable school. Northumbrians did study in Ireland, and amongst them S. Willibrord, whom Alcuin describes as one "to whom fertile Britain gave birth, and whom learned Ireland instructed in sacred studies."

Northumbria has the rightful claim to Alcuin—and the school of York in particular. There, as canon<sup>1</sup> and *magister scholarum*, he did a great work. The library became famous through the exertions of the Archbishops and Alcuin, their illustrious coadjutor.

Alcuin visited Rome with Ethelbert, staying at some monasteries in France on his way, before 767, in which year he was ordained deacon.

<sup>1</sup> The Church of York had no monastic body attached to it. The clergy were "canons," and lived, probably, under Chrodigang's Rule. The Bishop was the head of the Canons, and the Archdeacon next. No rigid monastic discipline was observed. The idea dates back to the fourth century. S. Augustine and his clergy lived much after the same style. Chrodigang died in 764.

He made a second journey into Italy on a mission from Ethelbert to Charles, and during his sojourn was present at a disputation at Pavia between a Jew and Peter of Pisa.

Alcuin appears to have returned home for a short time, and in 780 made a third journey to Italy in order to obtain a pall for Eanbald. He spent Easter of the following year with Charles at Parma, and was pressed by him to leave England and take up his residence in his dominions. He consented conditionally, and having fulfilled his mission returned to York and obtained the consent of the Archbishop and the King. In 782 he joined the Imperial Court and commenced his labours in behalf of education and literature.

His work in the Academy and Palatine School attracted many eminent men and women, who wrote under, and were known by, assumed names. He was himself known as Flaccus Albinus, and the King as David. When he visited Northumbria in 790 his friends endeavoured to persuade him to remain, but the importance of the work he had so successfully initiated abroad, and prospective doctrinal disputes, convinced him that it was impolitic to accede to their earnest requests. Soon afterwards he took a leading part in the Council of Frankfort (794) as a champion of orthodoxy against the Adoptionist heresy.

Two years later (796), with the consent of the Emperor, he retired to the monastery of S. Martin, at

Tours. In 799 he was present at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, where he again vanquished the advocates of the Adoptionist heresy.

The friendship between Charles and Alcuin was kept up to the end. The following epistle, which accompanied a copy of the Sacred Scriptures which Alcuin had corrected with his own hand, betokens a heart overflowing with gratitude and thankfulness. "I have for a long time been studying what present I could offer you, not unworthy of the glory of your imperial power, and one which might add something to the richness of your royal treasures. I was unwilling, that while others might give all kinds of rich gifts, my poor wit should remain dull and idle, and that the messenger of even so humble a person as myself should appear before you with empty hands. I have at last found out, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, a present which it befits my character to offer, and which it will not be unworthy of your wisdom to receive. Nothing can I offer more worthy of your great name than the Book which I now send, the Divine Scriptures, all bound up in one volume, carefully corrected by my own hand. It is the best gift which the devotion of my heart to your service, and my zeal for the increase of your glory, has enabled me to find."

On Whitsunday (May 19), 804, this great Churchman fell asleep in Christ, and "carried to his grave the admiration of his fellow countrymen, and of the whole of Western Europe."

In writing of the three famous Northumbrian scholars—Benedict Biscop, Bede, and Alcuin—it must be palpable that each worked on different lines. Benedict Biscop toiled hard to place within reach of his countrymen literary and art treasures. Bede took advantage of these, and built upon the foundation thus laid. Alcuin had the advantage of the labours of both. And though he sent some literary treasures<sup>1</sup> to his native land, his great work was to enrich continental learning by the labours of English scholars.

Alcuin was patriotic enough to work for his country's weal, and according to his means he liberally bestowed alms and presents<sup>2</sup> upon worthy objects. He had an equal solicitude for their spiritual welfare. His letters

<sup>1</sup> "I want," he said to Charles, "such books as will serve to educate a good scholar, such as I had in my native country through the industry and devoted zeal of my good master, Archbishop Egbert; let your excellency give me permission, and I will send over some of my pupils here, who shall copy out and bring over into France the flowers of the libraries in Britain. In the morning of my life I sowed the seeds of learning in my native land; now, in the evening, though my blood is not so quick as it was, I spare not to do my best to sow the same seeds in France; and I trust that, with God's grace, they will prosper well in both countries."

<sup>2</sup> Alcuin was reproached by Elipandus for his riches and the number of his vassals. Alcuin discovers his disinterestedness and spirit of poverty in his letters, especially to Eata; and to the Bishop of Lyons he justified his position—"Elipandus objects to me my riches, servants, and vassals, which amount to the number of twenty thousand, not reflecting that the possession of riches is vicious only from the attachment of the heart. It is one thing to possess the world, and another to be possessed by the world. Some possess riches though perfectly disengaged from them in their hearts; others, though they enjoy none, yet love and covet them." These vassals belonged to the several abbeys of which the King compelled him to undertake the administration: purely that he might establish them

during the decay of religion and anarchy in Northumbria betoken his love and anxiety for the Church of his fathers. His various epistles are of historic value. They are connecting links in a period when annalists were rare, and later historians are under great obligations to him. He gave an important stimulus to learning. His work in the Academy connected with the Frankish court, and his efforts in behalf of the better education of the clergy were fruitful of good results. He was an Apologist of no mean order, as his frequent conflicts with heretics and their consequent confusion prove. He was also a diplomatist, and in his capacity as adviser of Charles, not only averted war,<sup>1</sup> but counselled a course of conduct conducive to the glory of his sovereign. Charles was richer for the presence of such a man as

in regular discipline, and employ the surplus of the revenues in alms according to the intentions of such foundations.

Alcuin's letters to Eanbald II., Archbishop of York, show his ideas with regard to pomp, etc. He urged the Archbishop to guard against the seductions of secular pomp, the luxuries of the table, the vanities of dress, and the voice of adulation, not to be daunted by detractors . . . to be a temple of the living God, stablished upon the rock, and inhabited by the Holy Spirit. To have men of worth in his retinue rather than those who affected the vanities of attire, not men who halloo after the fox, but such as will accompany him in his rides melodiously chanting the Psalter.

<sup>1</sup> Especially with Offa, King of Mercia. Alcuin in a statesmanlike manner brought about a favourable treaty, "memorable as the first monument of our foreign diplomacy, which secured protection for the English merchants and pilgrims who were making their way in growing numbers to Rome" (*Green*). Yet Charles always considered himself to be the champion of the Church, and that it was his bounden duty to succour all Christians in danger of attacks by pagans and unbelievers.

Alcuin at his court. He did not, however, regard all Charles' actions with favour. For example, Alcuin did not agree with forcible conversions of vanquished foes to Christianity, but his silence on the corrupt state of the court is inexplicable. Truly, Charles was the man to place his own interpretation on God's marriage laws, and claimed licence in the supreme interests of the state, but it seems strange that no ecclesiastic like Lambert or Ken<sup>1</sup> bravely and sternly urged a more consistent state of life upon the monarch who bore the title, "Defensor sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ." Perhaps the diplomatic ecclesiastics averted his apostasy by their policy. The position of Alcuin and his associates was as difficult as that of the English bishops in the reign of Henry VIII., an imperial and imperious sinner, who bore the equally high-sounding title, Fidei Defensor!<sup>2</sup> The royal-Frankish-Sinner

<sup>1</sup> Lambert suffered martyrdom at Liege for rebuking Pipin for adultery. Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, reproved the Prince of Orange for conjugal infidelity, and refused to harbour the impure minion of Charles II.

<sup>2</sup> The title was intended as a compensation for that of "Rex Christianissimus," which Julius II. had declared to be forfeited by the King of France, and had conferred upon the King of England, but which Leo X. could never be brought to recognise (*Lingard*.) Upon Henry's reply to Luther, a suitable opportunity occurred for recognition. Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, who was zealous in restoring popery in England under Mary, also acquired the title, "Defender of the Faith." He was subsequently condemned of heresy and burnt in Rome! The title was a development of the ancient offices of Advocate, and Defender of the Church, officers originally appointed on account of the legal and religious disability of clergy and monks, either to plead in a civil court or to intermeddle with worldly business (see *Dict. Antiq.*, 'Advocate').

was canonised at Rome at the instance of Frederick Barbarossa.

The early retirement of Alcuin to Tours has never been satisfactorily explained. He was certainly tired of the court life, but whether frequent "jars" between his own countrymen at court and the Goths<sup>1</sup> and Teutons, constrained him to seek the quiet and peaceful retirement of S. Martin's is not definitely stated. The position he occupied in that and other monasteries is one of conjecture. He was not a monk, though he received the tonsure early in life, and he was never ordained priest.

Alcuin had a most energetic and able colleague in the Academy—Theodulf—a man of extraordinary intellectual gifts, who became Bishop of Orleans, a famous theologian, poet, and artist. He was Alcuin's superior—and he knew it. Although engaged in a common work, their relations were not felicitous. When Alcuin retired to S. Martin's at Tours there were signs of a general break-up. Evil days were in store for the brilliant Theodulf, who was shortly afterwards deposed, imprisoned, and banished. He died (c. 821) in banishment.

<sup>1</sup> An "insufferable Scot" was particularly distasteful to Theodulf; others also tried his patience to an extraordinary degree.

## HEATHORED, 821

Heathored—at Whitherne—Egbert—Subjection of Northumbria to Wessex.

THE name of Heathored does not appear in all the lists of the Bishops of Lindisfarne. He certainly presided over the diocese for some years, probably from 821 to 830. His name also appears as Bishop of Whitherne, from which it may be inferred that the Bishop of Lindisfarne took the spiritual oversight of the Christians in that locality after the extinction of the see and the disappearance or death of Badulf.

An important event occurred in 827—the submission of the Northumbrians to Egbert, King of the West Saxons, who, acting under the inspiration and example of Charles the Great, at whose court he had taken refuge some years before, were becoming masters of the greater part of the island. Seven years before the subjugation of Northumbria, Mercia and her dependencies succumbed to the West Saxon after many fierce struggles. Northumbria, bleeding from the wounds



inflicted by her own sons, and disorganised by feuds and quarrels, was unable to offer resistance to the all-conquering Egbert. At Dore, in Derbyshire, in 827 Egbert was acknowledged as overlord—a title once proudly enjoyed by Northumbrian kings. Egbert allowed Northumbria to retain her king, as his subordinate, just as Mercia and East Anglia had done. Egbert soon assumed the title of Rex Anglorum. This conquest made little or no difference to Northumbria. Consolidation was merely nominal. The weakling Enred was incapable of acting as a firm ruler. Egbert's attention was centred on the conquest of Wales, and later in repelling the invasions of the Northmen in the South of England.

## EGRED, 830 OR 831

Egred—A church-builder—A military and militant bishop—The “man of the hour”—His liberality.

BISHOP EGRED was a man of energetic and resolute character. His episcopate was marked by a revival of church building. At Ubbanford (Norham), which had been given to the monks of Lindisfarne by King Oswald, he erected a church in honour of SS. Peter, Cuthbert, and Ceolwulf. In later years the place became important as the northern home of the see (Nor-ham), and the Bishops of Durham held their exchequer there. Egred also built churches at Edlingham, Eglingham, Whittingham, and Woodchester.

The Picts and the Scots, Egred's neighbours, were in a bellicose frame of mind. They were themselves harassed by other Scots and the Northmen. Bernicia was threatened by many foes. The Bishop of Lindisfarne was the man for the hour. Patriotic and resolute, he prepared his people to meet the enemy on the field of battle, and thus he was the precursor of a noble line

of Bishops of Durham, who in later times were looked upon by the kings as the defenders of the northern part of the kingdom against the Scots.

To thoroughly appreciate the action of Egred, one must call to mind the impoverished state of the kingdom, the incapacity of the sub-King, and the dissensions amongst the men of position. The exigencies needed a leader of strong and independent character. The noble and soldierly Egred was the man, and few patriots will grudge this first Northumbrian soldier-bishop the praise which his conduct merited.<sup>1</sup>

Lindisfarne, and the Churchmen of "Bernicia" espe-

<sup>1</sup> Egred was not the first English bishop to take the field. In Egbert's reign, Herefrid of Worcester and Wilbert of Sherborne opposed the Danes. King Ethelwolf, with the help of Swithun, Bishop of Winchester, and Ealhstan, Bishop of Sherborne, gained the first complete victory over the Danes, at the mouth of the Parret. At the battle of Carham many clergy were slain. It was contrary to Canon Law for the clergy themselves to fight, but they were allowed to urge others to fight, and also to be present on the field of battle. Yet it was not considered irregular if they could not escape except by fighting. Still it has been urged that even those who urge others to fight sin enormously, and should in canonical strictness be deposed. In the East, the Church was far more rigid. Balsamon mentions a bishop who was deposed because he slew a Saracen who had drawn his sword against him in time of war. The feudal system actually compelled clerks to violate the canons. An abbot of Fulda, "who though paralytic was forced, as a prince, to attend the sovereign in battle, was nearly choked by the din of the muster, and the dust raised, and the fervent heat." In 1319 a Scottish invasion was repelled by a body of clerks at Swale. Pope Julius II. besieged Mirandolo (Owen's *Institutes of Canon Law*, c. xl. § 5). In Ireland the monastic communities were frequently at war. In 673 a battle was fought between the fraternities of Clonmacnois and Durrow, when two hundred of the Durrow fraternity were killed. In 816 there was a battle between Cathal, son of Dunlang, and the fraternity of Ferns, in which four hundred were slain (*Reeves*).

cially, had endured the "Red Martyrdom" which Columba's rule required of his monks, as well as the "White Martyrdom" of patient endurance. But no Walafridus Strabo<sup>1</sup> celebrated their heroic fortitude. Under Egred a more militant spirit arose, though it was but short lived.

He erected strongholds, to keep back the Picts, at Norham and at the two villis of Jedworth: his social position and experience gave him a commanding notability which had not been enjoyed by his spiritual predecessors. Had he lived in the days of the Palatine he would have been acknowledged as an excellent prince-bishop, which, virtually, he was. He died in 847, having, according to Symeon, "taken care to enrich and honour, more than his predecessors had done, the Church of S. Cuthbert with donations of goods and property."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, monk of Augia Dives (Reichenau in Switzerland), heard of the heroism of Blaithmac the martyr, from the monks who fled from Iona and took refuge abroad, when the Northmen descended on Iona in 825.

<sup>2</sup> Egred gave the territory of Gainford, and all that belonged to it from the Tees to the Wear, Ilecliffe, Wycliff, and Billingham; the church and vill of Norham; and the two villis of Jedburgh.

## EANBERT, 845 OR 846

An eight years' episcopate—No details—Ethelred II. murdered.

THE episcopate of Eanbert extended over eight years, but there are no particulars preserved. The country continued in a feeble state. The fact that Northumbria was subject to Mercia was no security against internecine strife, for in 849 Ethelred II. was murdered. He was succeeded by Osbert. The ecclesiastical history of the North was unwritten, and the traditions of this gloomy period lingered in little more than the names of the bishops.

## EARDULF, 854

The last Bishop of Lindisfarne—Fear of the Northmen—Their previous enormities at Lindisfarne, Iona, and elsewhere—The fusion of petty states in Northmannaland a cause of the invasion of England—The invasion of 867—Halfdane's fleet enters the Tyne, 875—Flight of the monks of Lindisfarne with "The Treasure"—Their wanderings—Norham and Melrose untouched by the Northmen—Barbarities at Coldingham—The Scots harass Northumbria—Guthred the Dane—Foundation of the Palatinate of Durham—The monks settle at Chester-le-Street—Death of Eardulf (900).

EARDULF was the sixteenth and last Bishop of Lindisfarne. The boundaries of the sees of Lindisfarne and York were altered on the death of his predecessor, which coincided with a vacancy at York. Portions of the extinct diocese of Hexham, situated between the Tees and the Tyne, were handed over to York, probably in addition to Hexhamshire.

Eardulf and his monks lived in daily dread of a descent of their traditional enemies, the Northmen. Religious duties, however, were attended to, and the Bishop diligently visited his diocese. The Church of Lindisfarne re-echoed the prayer, "Preserve us from the fury of the Northmen," with as much fervour as their

brethren over the sea had called upon God to "save and deliver" them "from the arrows of the Hungarians."

The enormities of the Northmen at Lindisfarne during the episcopate of Higbald had been told and re-told with feelings of horror. The presence of bands of marauders of the same kith in different parts of the country filled the monks with alarm. There seemed to be no end to the succession of "colonists" from the Northmanna land, and, what was most dreadful to contemplate, they were inclined to stay. Changes had taken place since their early forays. Great kings had arisen, and the kinglets or jarls were compelled to submit to their sovereign power, or to seek new homes elsewhere. The bravest and most independent of the jarls left their native land with their followers, and settled in England and other countries.

The invasion of 867 proved that the Northmen meant conquest rather than mere plunder. For several years they fought fiercely for their "foothold." Tidings of their barbarities reached the utmost limits of the British Isles. By 868 they had overrun Mercia, and in less than two years they were the masters of East Anglia. The sainted King Edmund died as a true martyr for the faith, like S. Sebastian, shot to death with arrows. The religious houses were sacked, and the inmates killed or maltreated. Croyland was looted and left a blackened ruin, whilst Peterborough had no better fate.

Long before this the Northmen were a power amongst

the Scots, and Kenneth I. was glad to accept them as colleagues when he invaded Pictish territory. Iona had sent its tale of woe over the seas, and some of her best blood had been spilled in witnessing a good profession. In Ireland there was a repetition of the dreadful scenes experienced centuries before, when the Welsh Coroticus pillaged the churches and carried away many captives.<sup>1</sup>

Bernicia seemed to enjoy an enviable isolation. She was an oasis in the devastated provinces. Her time came at length. In 870 the keels of Halfdane entered the Tyne. Jarrow, Tynemouth, and Wearmouth had not recovered from the attack of Hinguar and Hubba four years before. Halfdane intended to winter in the river and then to strike north.

The monks of Lindisfarne, on the advice of Eadred, Abbot of Carlisle, determined to leave the island, and convey the body of S. Cuthbert with other portable treasures and relics to some safe retreat. In doing so they carried out the instructions of their blessed spiritual father, and a practice which had become general in many parts of Christendom in order to spare the remains of their sainted brethren from outrage, as the treatment of the relics of Augustine,<sup>2</sup> Leocadia,<sup>3</sup> and others testify.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ep. S. Patricii ad Coroticum (quoted by Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, *Times of S. Patrick*, p. 9).

<sup>2</sup> When the Vandals wasted Africa, the body of S. Augustine was carried away from Hippo into Sardinia, and by the care of Luitprand was translated thence to Pavia, and was repositied in a very honourable place of interment (Platina's *Greg. III.*).

<sup>3</sup> The remains of Leocadia, Virgin of Toledo, were carried into Hainault when the Moors invaded Spain.



For seven years the relics were carried from place to place by the monks, as already narrated under the life of S. Cuthbert.

Those were eventful years for Bernicia. The Northmen overran the "sub-kingdom," and drove many of the inhabitants into the hill districts of Cumberland. Yet an independent kingdom<sup>1</sup> was maintained, for the two strongholds, Bamburgh and Corbridge, seem to have been undisturbed—the former place under the protection of the High Reeve, and the latter under the Kings Ricsig and Egbert II. The churches of Norham and Melrose were untouched, but at Coldingham the scene was the most revolting and horrible on local record.

The Abbess, Ebba, in order to preserve her nuns from outrage, caused them to disfigure themselves by cutting off their noses and upper lips, a course which has been deprecated by many sound and saintly theologians.<sup>2</sup> The rage of the Northmen with their unsated lust was unbounded. They set fire to the monastery, and the virgins died in the flames. Marcella had been more successful with the Goths when they sacked Rome in 410. Calm and intrepid in her monastic palace on Mount Aventine (as the Gauls of Brennus eight cent-

<sup>1</sup> Corbridge held a similar position to the British kingdom of Elmete in the neighbourhood of York, which, during the Saxon invasion, was able to maintain an independent existence down to the seventh century.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S. Francis de Sales' *Of the Love of God*, Bk. VIII. c. xii. Also S. Augustine's *City of God*, Bk. I. c. xviii. xix.

uries before had found the Roman senators awaiting their death in silence in their chairs of ivory), Marcella sat when the barbarians demanded gold. They refused to believe in the voluntary poverty which her coarse tunic attested, and struck her down with sticks. She submitted patiently, but prostrated herself before the barbarians to ask mercy for the modesty of the young nun who was her companion. This was in a manner to attempt an impossibility. These ferocious beasts who periodically invaded the empire delighted in taking, as the playthings of their savage lust, the delicate forms of noble Roman ladies, of free women and consecrated virgins. However, she triumphed by her prayers and tears over their licentiousness.<sup>1</sup> History repeats itself, and though the Northmen are known to have spared the lives of monks and nuns, their record was a bad one. Their belief in a Valhalla, or Paradise, with its orgies in which the Valkyrs bore about the mead horns, was enough to shatter the confidence of any one responsible for the protection of frail women, and to dissipate any hope of leniency or mercy at the hands of men whose licentiousness was proverbial.

The Northmen were not alone in harassing Bernicia during this period of helplessness. The Scots descended, and spared neither church nor home. The kingdom was extinguished about 879, when the Scot, Gregory, is said to have vanquished Egbert II.

<sup>1</sup> *Monks of the West*, etc.

In a few years the English and the Northmen were inclined to make terms. The Church was the leading agent in the movement, and S. Cuthbert in a vision commissioned Eardulf to bring about a compact. It is probable that both races found a common basis of agreement in Christianity. Guthred, a Dane, was liberated from captivity, and acknowledged King of Northumbria. On the suggestion of Eadred, Abbot of Carlisle, who conveyed a message from S. Cuthbert to Guthred—"Tell the king that he must give to me, and to those who minister in my church, the whole of the district lying between the Wear and the Tyne"—he endowed the church in perpetuity. The grant was confirmed by Alfred the Great, and is supposed to have been the foundation of the Palatinate of Durham.

The monks then settled at Chester-le-Street, where Eardulf died in the year 900. He deserves to be regarded as a diplomatic peacemaker, and is one of a train of worthy Churchmen who by their tact, and at no small risk of life, succeeded in assuaging the wrath of invaders.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The cases of Pope Leo meeting Attila, King of the Huns (453), Pope John VI. and Giself, Flavian of Antioch's appeal to Theodosius, etc.



## THE BISHOPS OF CHESTER-LE-STREET

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|                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| EARDULF ... .. 883  | SEXHELM ... .. 947    |
| CUTHEARD ... .. 900 | ALDRED ... .. (?) 947 |
| TILRED ... .. 915   | ELFSIG ... .. 968     |
| WIGRED ... .. 928   | ALDHUN ... .. 990     |
| UHTRED ... .. 944   |                       |

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“The Church mourns for her children, she weeps for those who have not yet been slain by the sword, but have been carried away captive. I weep for you, my most fair and loving brethren. I weep also for the dead . . . but I rejoice also . . . ye have believed and have been baptised, and ye have passed from this world into Paradise. I see with mine eyes that ye have migrated to that place where is neither darkness, nor mourning, nor death ; and ye will reign hereafter in glory with apostles, and prophets, and martyrs” (“ Epistola S. Patricii ad Coroticum,” § 8, quoted by Bishop Wordsworth, *Lectures on S. Patrick*).



## EARDULF, 883

SEE his life under "Bishops of Lindisfarne." Eardulf took the title from Chester-le-Street (Cunecester) when he placed his *sedes* there in 883.

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## CUTHEARD, 900

Desolation of country—A "peaceful" episcopate—Reign of Guthred—Growth of Church property—Donations by Tilred and Berrard—Apostasy of Guthred's sons—Their depredations—Battle at Corbridge—Death of Cutheard, 915.

ALMOST the whole of the country between the Humber and the Tweed was in a desolate condition through the ravages of the Danes when Cutheard became bishop. Although the diplomacy of Eardulf had won the goodwill of Guthred the Dane, churchmen were not inclined to bestow much labour on the restoration of the churches which had been desecrated by the "black pagans." Guthred died about six years before the consecration

of Cutheard. His sons were not allowed to succeed him. The influence of Alfred, under whose leadership the Northmen had been subdued, was felt in the far north. The supremacy of "Wessex" was again acknowledged in a most welcome manner.

During the long reign of anarchy, although the Church was crippled in her missionary work and extension, the episcopal line of succession was maintained. The calamities which befell the Church were many and grievous, but she failed not to continue her work on Catholic and Apostolic lines, although the area of her usefulness was restricted.

Cutheard, Eardulf's successor, is said to have had a peaceful time notwithstanding the unsettled state of affairs. The dominions of S. Cuthbert were at this time a refuge for fugitives. Cutheard continued the policy of endowment begun under his predecessor, and added Sedgefield and Bedlington to S. Cuthbert's possessions. Men possessed of property who entered his community were expected to make liberal donations. An abbot of Heversham,<sup>1</sup> Tilred, gave half of his estate of Little Eden, near Hartlepool, to the Chester-le-Street monks and the other half to the cell of Norham to be abbot there. A priest named Berrard also gave Willington, near Tynemouth, to Cutheard.

The civil government of Northumbria was by no means peaceful. The death of Guthred was the occasion

<sup>1</sup> See p. 238.



of more feuds and bloodshed. Alfred the Great would not acknowledge the claims of Guthred's sons for the sub-kingdom, and Edward followed the lines of his father's policy. The Danish princes therefore threw off the restraints of Christianity, lapsed, and became a terror and a scourge to the people. Their natural inclinations to a roving life with its concomitant barbarities were fanned by their rejection. They first of all descended on the Irish coast. Then they ravaged the opposite coast of Cumberland, and spared not the people whom they regarded as their rightful subjects. Reginald's fleet spread terror along the east coast. Bamburgh was captured, and the victorious Danes marched on Corbridge, the capital. Aldred called upon the Scots for help. Constantine and the English were routed. Reginald spared the lives of Esbrid and Elstan, who submitted to him in consideration of a grant of the lands between the Tyne and Derwent previously held by their father, Edred, from Bishop Cutheard, when he sought protection of S. Cuthbert after slaying Eardwulf the prince. Bishop Cutheard died in the year 915.

## TILRED, 915

Consecrated, 915—Battle of “Tinemoor”—Reginald the Dane surprises York—Edward the Elder—Submission of the northern petty kings—Sihtric, the Danish King of Northumbria—Athelstan.

THERE are no particulars of the acts of Bishop Tilred during the thirteen years of his episcopate (915–928), unless he is the Tilred who was Abbot of “Hexesham” who purchased the vill of Eden, in the county of Durham, and gave one moiety of it to S. Cuthbert in order that he might become a brother in the community of Chester-le-Street.

In 918 the Scots and Northumbrians again united in an effort to overthrow the Northmen. The Scots carried the crozier<sup>1</sup> of S. Columba into the battle of

<sup>1</sup> The crozier of S. Columba was supposed to possess miraculous virtues. It was used in 918, when the Fortrenns (= the men of Fortreen or Pictland and Albanaigh) fought against the Lochlanns (= Norwegians—Dr. Paul O’Brien’s *Irish-English Dict.*), when the men of Alba gained a signal victory (O’Hanlan). Celtic croziers were short sticks, with curved heads, much used in walking. They were generally made of wood, and frequently covered with metal, decorated and jewelled. S. Columba and S. Mungo exchanged croziers in token of their mutual love in Christ. This “Cambo Kentigerni,” enclosed in a case, covered with plates of gold, and adorned with gems, was

Tinemoor, near Corbridge-on-Tyne. Their victory was ascribed to the presence of this pastoral emblem, and the help of S. Columba himself. The land north of the Tyne was restored to Aldred. The same year Ethelfleda, Lady of Mercia, died suddenly whilst negotiating with the Danes of York for the surrender of the city.

Five years later (923) we read of Reginald marching on York, and surprising it. King Edward set out to

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preserved in the church of Ripon, and venerated down to the Reformation, when it disappeared. In the will of S. Remigius mention is made of his pastoral staff covered with gold plates. Columba also gave a staff to Scanlan, prince of Ossory, which was preserved as a reliquary in Durrow monastery. The monks of Arbroath were the custodians of S. Columba's "Banner" which was used in religious processions as well as on the field of battle. The hereditary keepers of these relics received endowments of lands. Examples of the Celtic staff or crozier may be seen on the Round Tower at Brechin; in *McDurnan's Gospels*, in the Lambeth Library, where S. Luke is represented with a crooked stick or staff. The head of S. Fillan's staff is now in the National Museum, Edinburgh. The Lismore crozier, discovered in 1814 in the tower of Lismore Castle, is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. It was made for Niall MacMic Aeducan, Bishop of Lismore, 1090-1113, and "measures three feet four inches in length, and consists of a bronze of pale colour, which enshrines an old oak stick, perhaps the original staff of the founder of Lismore. Most of the ornaments are richly gilt, interspersed with others of silver and niello, and bosses of coloured enamels. The crook of the staff is bordered with a row of grotesque animals, like lizards or dragons, one of which has eyes of *lapis lazuli*." The inscription is translated, "Pray for Niall, son of MacAeducan, for whom this work was made; pray for Nectan, who made this work of art." S. Columba's staff is said to have assumed various shapes (*cf.* the occasion on which he acquired the possession of Torry Island). The staves of Cainnect, Donnan, Fergus, Munn, Patrick ("staff of Jesus") were greatly venerated. It will be noted that Columba was not a bishop. Abbots therefore used staves at an early period. When they were granted episcopal insignia, no mention is made of the staff, as it was already in use.

pacify Northumbria, and the leaders of the different factions submitted, though their submission was merely nominal—"the King of the Scots and the whole nation of the Scots, and all those who dwell in Northumbria, as well English as Danes, and Northmen and others, and also the King of the Strathclyde Britons, sought him to father and lord."

The restless Reginald and his chief followers then set out for the Loire (925), where most of them perished. In the same year King Edward died.

Sihtric, Reginald's brother, who succeeded him at York, and had married a daughter of Edward, reigned only a year. His wife's brother, Athelstan, is said to have starved him to death in order to seize the kingdom. Sihtric's two sons, Guthfrith and Anlaf, were not allowed to have the territory of their father.

Tilred's episcopate terminated in 928.

## WIGRED, 928

Athelstan in the North—His offerings at S. Cuthbert's shrine—Routs confederacy of petty kings at Brunanburgh.

QUARRELS and conspiracies demanded the presence of Athelstan in the north. He marched with a strong force to secure order and the submission of refractory subjects.

On his way he stayed at every shrine of importance and sought the prayers and goodwill of the clergy. A welcome was accorded him at York by Archbishop Wulstan. At Beverley the King made a solemn vow that if his cause was successful he would richly endow the church, and left his dagger on the altar as a pledge. On reaching Chester-le-Street he offered valuable gifts, including a piece of embroidery, which was afterwards placed in S. Cuthbert's coffin, and identified when it was opened in 1827 as the stole and maniple originally made for Frithestan, Bishop of Winchester, at the command of Edward's queen, Elfleda. Frithestan resigned his see in 931 and died in 932. The vestments may not have been given to him, but kept in the palace until a suitable opportunity of disposing of them occurred.

Athelstan also gave the monks of Chester-le-Street a copy of the Gospels, the remains of which are now in the British Museum, and known as the Durham MSS. (*Blunt*). He also freely bestowed lands upon the Church, including the vill of South, or Bishop Wearmouth, with its appendages, viz. Westoe, Offerton, Silksworth, the two Ryhopes, Burdon, Seaham, Seaton, Dalden, and Heselden.

Athelstan's spirited policy was most successful. The northern chiefs were subdued, and two earls, Alfgar and Godric, left in charge of Northumberland. Alfgar was soon afterwards slain by the Scots.

Athelstan was able to break up a powerful combination of Danes, Scots, and Britons under Anlaf (son of Guthfrith of Northumbria), Anlaf (Olaf) Cuaran the Danish King of Dublin, Owen of Cumberland, and Constantine of Scotland, at Brunanburgh, in 937. Five petty kings and most of the leaders were slain.<sup>1</sup> The remainder of Athelstan's reign was comparatively peaceful.

Bishop Wigred was succeeded (944) by Uhtred.

<sup>1</sup> The site of the battle is doubtful. It may have been—(1) in the Lothians; (2) in Northumberland; (3) Lincolnshire (Brumby); or (4) in Yorkshire.

“Athelstane, the king,  
Lord of earls,  
Of barons, bracelet giver,  
And his brother eke,  
Edmund Atheling,  
of Ancient race,  
With swords they fought,  
Near Brunaburg.”

## UHTRED, 944

No records of his episcopate—Sufferings of the people—Rebellion—  
Edmund recovers Northumbria—Reginald baptised—Edred—Eric  
Bloodaxe.

THERE are no records of Uhtred's episcopate, which extended over three years (944—947).

The land and the people suffered severely from the effects of wars and pillage. "To this sorowe was ioynded hunger and penury amongst the comons, that everyche of them was constrained to plucke and stele from others ; so that by the pillage of the Danes, and by inward theuuyes and brebours, this land was brought in great mysery and myschefe." Fabyan's words describe especially the northern part of England.

The Northumbrians again rebelled after Athelstan's death, and his brother and successor, Edmund, in 945, recovered Northumbria and the Five Burghs from the Danes. Anlaf, son of Sihtric, was baptised and thereupon made king, and at the baptism of Reginald, son of Guthfrith, Edmund stood sponsor.

Upon the death of Edmund the Northumbrian Witan

accepted the rule of his brother Edred (947). Shortly afterwards the Northumbrians raised Eric Bloodaxe, son of Harold Blaatand, to the throne. Edred came North to chastise the rebels. He devastated the land by fire and sword. Eric was dethroned by the terrified Witan. The departure of Edred was the occasion for fresh outbreaks by Malcolm of Scotland and Anlaf Cuaran.



## SEXHELME, 947

His inordinate greed—The treasures buried—Unearthed in Egelric's episcopate.

SEXHELME governed the see for a few months only. His name is associated with inordinate cupidity. The people loathed him and forced him to resign within a year of his consecration.

It is said that the monks were obliged to bury the Church treasures in consequence of his greedy designs. Probably they had a double purpose in doing so. Property of every description was unsafe. The Danes on the one hand and the Northumbrians on the other caused a feeling of insecurity. Moreover, the news of the sack of S. Wilfrid's church at Ripon by Edred was likely to spread consternation at Chester-le-Street. The treasures were not unearthed until the episcopate of Egelric of Durham, when it was determined to erect a stone church worthy of the place where S. Cuthbert's body had so long rested. The treasures were sent to Peterburgh.

## ALDRED, 947

Aldred the Bishop—Aldred the Scribe—Rebellion against Edred—Archbishop Wulstan—Eric Bloodaxe slain—The earldom of Northumberland.

ALDRED was elected bishop on the resignation or deprivation of Sexhelme.

The work of Aldred the Scribe is associated with this period, but he may not be the same as Aldred the Bishop.

Scribes were frequently chosen for the positions of abbot and bishop. The practice prevailed in Scotland from the seventh to the tenth centuries. As S. Columba had been an expert scribe, writing was considered to be an important qualification in his successors. Dorbene, abbot-elect of Iona in 715, was a celebrated writer.

The Anglo-Saxon notes in "the Book of the Blessed Cuthbert which fell into the Sea" describe the scribe as "Aldred the Sinner," "Aldred, an unworthy and most miserable priest," who "by the help of God and S. Cuthbert overglossed the same in English and domiciled

himself with three parts," and as "the notorious son of a good woman." The original manuscript is the Latin of S. Jerome. A Saxon Ritual preserved at Durham was for the most part written by him. In a note near the end of the book he wrote—"In South Woodgate, at Aclea in Wessex, on Lawrence's mass-day, on the Wednesday, and in the tent of Bishop Aelfsig, Aldred the provost wrote these four collects, on the fifth night of the moon, before the hour of terce." This note, Lingard says, must have been written in 970, "for during the whole time of Aelfsig's episcopacy . . . that was the only year in which the festival of S. Lawrence (August 10) could fall both on a Wednesday and on the fifth day of the moon. What may have taken Aelfsig from the North into Wessex we are not told: but we know that he accompanied Kenneth, King of Scots, to the court of Edgar, soon after the accession of the Scottish prince to the throne of his ancestors, which accession is said to have happened in 970." This would be about twelve years after the close of Aldred's episcopate.

In the rebellion against Edred in 948 Wulstan, Archbishop of York, who was deeply implicated, was deposed and imprisoned at Jedburgh for a time. When released he was not allowed to return to York. He was succeeded by Oskytel, a man of Danish extraction. There was a thriving Danish community in the city.

In 954 the “kingdom” of Northumbria finally expired with Eric Bloodaxe. Oswulf became viceroy of Edred, with the title of Earl, and until about 966, when Edgar had succeeded Edred, ruled from the Forth to the Humber.

Bishop Aldred was succeeded by Elfsig in 968.

## ELFSIG, 968

The partition of Northumbria—Invasion by Kenneth—King Edward's policy—Waltheof.

NOTHING is known of Elfsig's life and work. He was Bishop of Chester-le-Street for about twenty-two years. Edgar reduced the territory ruled by Earl Oswulf to the land north of the Tyne. The successor of S. Cuthbert claimed the land between the Tees and the Tyne, whilst Oslac was made Earl of Deira (York), and Edwulf held sway over the district now known as Cleveland.

The division enfeebled the opposition to Edgar, but it was the means of placing the land at the mercy of invaders. The Scots soon took advantage of the weakness and want of cohesion and devastated the country as far as Cleveland. The three northern rulers, Elfsig, Oslac, and Edwulf, were helpless and obliged to accept the humiliating terms of Kenneth, to whom the Lothian district was made over, with the consent of Edgar. This policy secured peace for a period of thirty years.

The death of Edgar in 975 caused a reversion of this successful arrangement. Oslac was banished by King Edward, and Bamburgh again came to the front under Waltheof, Oswulf's successor, who ruled from the Humber to the Tweed.

## ALDHUN, 990

Threatened invasion—Flight of the monks—Ripon—Wrdelau—Eadmer's vision—Durham—Dedication of the third church erected by Aldhun—Durham fortified—Earl Uhtred—"Divorce"—Invasion by Malcolm—Uhtred's success—Reverse—Death—Edwulf Cudel—The battle of Carham—Death of Aldhun, 1021.

BISHOP ALDHUN was a man of good family, and of no mean ability. He was probably a widower when he joined the community, although clerical celibacy was the exception and not the rule in the North in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

In 995 the monks were terrified at the threatened invasion of Northmen and fled to Ripon with their treasures, including the body of S. Cuthbert. When the panic was over they set out for their old home at Chester-le-Street, but when they reached a place known as Wrdelau<sup>1</sup> the car upon which the body of their holy father Cuthbert rested became immovable. Will-

<sup>1</sup> Warden Law, near Houghton-le-Spring; Maiden Castle, about a mile east of Durham, and even Wardley near Jarrow, have been suggested. Symeon describes it as "a spot near Durham on the eastern side of the city."

ing helpers went to the assistance of the monks, but all to no purpose. In their perplexity Aldhun enjoined a three days' fast, and the brethren were urged to spend the time in watching and prayer so that they might be divinely guided as to their future abode.

On the third day a monk, Eadmer, received a revelation to the effect that Dunholme (Durham) was to be the saint's resting-place. The announcement was made to the brethren, who received it with great joy. The revelation was confirmed by the fact that the car moved with ease.<sup>1</sup> When they reached Durham a little chapel made of boughs of trees was speedily erected and the body placed therein.

It was found that the place was uninhabitable, being covered with a dense wood. Bishop and monks, Earl (Uhtred) and people, willingly set to work to clear it. When this was done a residence was assigned by lot to each brother, and the Bishop lost no time in making plans for the erection of a fine church of wood—the White Church, which was the second cathedral of Durham, the first being the temporary erection made of the boughs of the trees. When the monks were thus set-

<sup>1</sup> A legend says that the monks were distressed because they were ignorant where Dunholme was. "See theire good fortune! as they were goinge, a woman that lacked hir cove did call aloude to hir companion to know if shee did not see hir, who answered with a loud voice that hir cove was in Dunholme—a happy and heavenly eccho to the distressed monkes, who by that meanes were at the end of theire journey, where they should finde a restinge place for the body of theire honoured saint."



tled the Bishop commenced a third church, which was dedicated on September 4, 998, and then, "to the great joy of all, and to the honour of God, he (the Bishop) translated the incorrupted body of the most holy father Cuthbert, and deposited it with due honour in the place which had been prepared for its reception."

Aldhun seems to have realised the importance of fortifying Durham. Invaders usually made their way to the walled city.

Uhtred, who had rendered great assistance in the erection of the churches at Durham and had proved himself valiant in fight, married the Bishop's daughter Egfrida. He endowed her with certain Church lands, an uncanonical and invalid proceeding.<sup>1</sup>

Uhtred, however, soon divorced Egfrida and restored the lands which had formed her dowry. He afterwards

<sup>1</sup> In the language of canonists, Church property is said to be the patrimony of Jesus Christ, acquired by His precious Blood and that of His saints. Aldhun was undoubtedly guilty of misappropriation of Church lands. He was merely a trustee. In some parts of Christendom he would have been deposed unless he could have proved that the Church was reaping greater advantage by the transaction. Alienation had from time to time caused considerable trouble. Leo the Great, Gelasius, Hilarius, Symmachus and Agapetus, as well as Christian emperors, frequently protested against it. Bishops were allowed to assign Church property for the support of monasteries (III. Council Toledo) or to let it on lease (*Emphyteusis*). The enrichment of relatives or favourites was discountenanced and pronounced to be invalid. Thus, "the Second Council of Nicea (A.D. 787), 12th Canon, making mention of the 39th Apostolic Canon, forbids the alienation or transfer of Church lands by bishops and abbots in favour of princes or other secular potentates; and it also, like many of the canons hereinbefore cited, prohibits bishops from appropriating any ecclesiastical property to their own use or to that of their relations" (*Dr. Brunel*).

“married” Sigen, a daughter of Styr, a wealthy noble who made a condition that he should slay his enemy Thurbrand.

Egfrida then “married” a Yorkshire Thane named Kilvert, who also repudiated her and sent her back to her father. She afterwards took the veil.

The manner in which Egfrida was given away in marriage, repudiated, and allowed to enter an adulterous state of life, gives a view of the laxity of the marriage laws amongst the English at that time, probably through Danish influence.

In 1006 the Scots under Malcolm invaded Northumberland. Waltheof, incapacitated by age for active service, shut himself up in the fortress of Bamburgh. The Scots marched on Durham, where Uhtred completely routed them. He ordered the best-looking heads of the slain to be fixed upon stakes and placed round about the walls, as a warning to others.

King Ethelred recognised Uhtred’s services by confirming his right of succession to Waltheof’s earldom and also by conferring upon him the vacant earldom of York. These honours are said to have caused him to repudiate Egfrida and to take Sigen. Uhtred had a “run of success” on the battlefield, and recovered the greater part of Northumbria which had fallen into the hands of the Scots. A further recognition of his valour was made by the King when he gave his daughter Elgeve to the powerful earl for his third “wife.”

Uhtred met with a reverse on Stainmoor in 1013, and in 1016 he was murdered by Thurbrand, whom he had pledged himself to murder on his second marriage.

Uhtred was succeeded by his brother Edwulf Cudel, who gave the Scots the whole of Lothian, which his brother had recovered. The gift, however, did not palliate them, for they again threatened the possessions of S. Cuthbert.

The clergy themselves took the field, and in the bloody fight at Carham, in September 1018, no less than eighteen priests were slain. The reverse broke Aldhun's heart and he soon afterwards died.



## THE BISHOPS OF HEXHAM

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|                    |     |     |     |     |           |     |     |     |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------|-----|-----|-----|
| EATA               | ... | ... | ... | 678 | FRITHBERT | ... | ... | 734 |
| TUMBERT            | ... | ... | ... | 681 | ALCHMUND  | ... | ... | 767 |
| CUTHBERT (elected) | ... | ... | ... | 684 | TILBERT   | ... | ... | 781 |
| EATA (exchange)    | ... | ... | ... | 685 | ETHELBERT | ... | ... | 789 |
| JOHN               | ... | ... | ... | 687 | EADRED    | ... | ... | 797 |
| WILFRID (exchange) | ... | ... | ... | 705 | EANBERT   | ... | ... | 800 |
| ACCA               | ... | ... | ... | 710 | TIDFERT   | ... | ... | 814 |

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“Oh, most illustrious descendants of holy progenitors, inheritors of the honour and spotless life which was theirs, dwellers in a place which is of such rare beauty, walk ye in the footsteps of your sires ! so that, passing away from these shrines of yours that are so exceeding fair, ye may be worthy to attain, through the Lord's mercy, to the beauty of the celestial kingdom and the fellowship in eternal bliss of your spiritual forefathers” (Alcuin's Letter to Æthelbert, Bishop of Hexham).



## EATA, 678

EATA, "the Confessor," was chosen by Archbishop Theodore and King Egfrid as Bishop of Bernicia, with his *sedes* either at Hexham or Lindisfarne. Particulars of his life will be found under Bishops of Lindisfarne.

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## TUMBERT, 681

At Lindisfarne—Hexham a place of importance—Deposed by Theodore  
—Winfred of Mercia—Boniface.

WHEN a further sub-division of the diocese of Wilfrid was made in 681 Tumbert went to Hexham and Eata retained Lindisfarne.

Hexham<sup>1</sup> was a place of importance during the Roman occupation.<sup>2</sup> The Saxons availed themselves of

<sup>1</sup> Formerly called Hagulstadt (halig, gut) = the town upon the holy stream Hexham = Hextoldesham = the farm or land on the Hextold, a brook in the west side of the town.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bruce thinks that Hexham was a Roman town, although there

the buildings, and Wilfrid used some of the stones in building his church. The proximity to Corbridge was also of great importance.

Tumbert, three years after consecration, was deposed at Theodore's third council at Twyford-upon-Alne *pro culpa cujusdam inobedientiæ*. Tumbert protested against Theodore's interference. Being a weaker man than Wilfrid he accepted Theodore's arrogant and arbitrary decree as inevitable. Winfrid, Bishop of Mercia, originally, like Tumbert, appointed by Theodore, was also deposed for disobedience, which consisted in his refusal to allow the division of his diocese. Winfrid retired to the monastery of Ad Baruæ in Lindsey, where he died. Nothing further is known of Tumbert.<sup>1</sup>

The name of Winfrid will recall his Devonshire namesake, the Apostle of Thuringia, who assumed the name of Boniface, and played the *role* of the "Theodore of Germany." By oath he was the vassal of the Roman Church, and being backed by the civil power he endeavoured to crush all who opposed his schemes. Representations were made at Rome against his arbi-

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is no place in the Itineraries or the Notitia with which it can be identified.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Browne is clearly mistaken in his remarks (*Wilfrith and Theodore*, p. 161) respecting Tumbert's gravestone being found at Yarm in Yorkshire. He read "MBEREHCT" for the [Tru]mberehct = Trumbert or Tumbert, supposing the previous line, the letters of which are very indistinct, to have been *pro Tru*, and argues that *sacerdos* was frequently used with reference to a bishop. A better reading is [Pray] for Heriberehct the priest. Alla [this] cross after (*i. e.* in memory of) his brother erected.



trary conduct; but he quietly ignored the right of papal interference. As Boniface was not formally sent to the "Germans," by Gregory II., until 719, nearly thirty years after Theodore's death, it is probable that he had a precedent for his conduct.

### CUTHBERT, 684

CUTHBERT was consecrated Bishop of Hexham some time after Tumbert was deposed, but exchanged sees with Eata, Bishop of Lindisfarne.

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### EATA, 685

See Bishops of Lindisfarne.

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## JOHN, 687

Theodore's *protégé*—At Whitby—Hexham and Eaglescliff—Bishop of York—Beverley—Death, 721—His relics.

JOHN, better known as S. John of Beverley, was consecrated Bishop of Hexham August 25, 687. He was born at Harpham, in Yorkshire, and at an early age was placed in the care of Archbishop Theodore, who is said to have given him the name of John. He took Theodore as his model, and always looked up to him with affection and veneration.

Later, John was placed in Hilda's double monastery at Whitby, and became one of her most celebrated pupils, "a circumstance," says Fuller, "which soundeth much to her honour and nothing to his disgrace, seeing eloquent Apollos himself learned the primer of his Christianity partly from Priscilla."

Although John resided at Hexham about eighteen years, little is known of his work there. He spent a good part of each year in the hermitage of Eaglescliff (Harneshalg), now known as S. John Lee,<sup>1</sup> which was

<sup>1</sup> "Lee" is thought to be an abbreviation of Beverley—S. John [of

particularly suitable for retirement during the penitential seasons, and where he is said to have worked many miracles.<sup>1</sup>

When Wilfrid was reinstated in 705, John meekly gave up the see of Hexham to him.

When Bosa, Bishop of York, died, John was translated. At York he pursued the same manner of life as at Hexham—study, meditation, prayer, teaching, etc.

John's personality and ability attracted many pupils both at Hexham and at York. The names of Bede, the father of English history; Sigga, his dean, who is said to have seen the Holy Spirit descend upon John whilst praying; Herebald, afterwards Abbot of Tyne-mouth; Berethune, who became Abbot of Beverley; and Wilfrid II., his (S. John's) successor at York, amongst them.

John is the reputed author of certain homilies and letters.<sup>2</sup>

With advancing years and failing strength he yearned

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Beverley. It is more probable that it is so called in order to distinguish it from another Lee in Hexhamshire. The church is dedicated to S. John *Baptist*.

<sup>1</sup> Especially, a poor dumb boy by making the sign of the cross upon his tongue. The inhabitants of the locality ascribed many wonders to S. John after his death. When King David of Scotland was quartered at Corbridge in 1138, two of his soldiers attempted to break the door of the oratory of S. Michael at Warden (the Saxon church is assigned to the time of S. John Beverley) and suffered the penalty of their insolence, for both went mad—the one dashed his brains out against a stone and the other drowned himself.

<sup>2</sup> Pro Luca Exponendo, lib. i.; Homeliæ Evangeliorum, lib. i.; ad Hyldam Abbatissam, lib. i.; ad Herebaldum Discipulum, Epist. i.; ad Audænum et Bertinum, Epist. ii. *et alia* (Bale).

for solitude, which York could not afford. In the East Riding there was a charming place which reminded him of his old retreat at Eaglescliff—Inderawood, which was afterwards called Beverley, being the haunt of beavers. John became possessor, enlarged the church, which was dedicated to S. John the Evangelist, and made it into a monastery. On the south side he erected an oratory, which he dedicated to S. Martin. It was the beginning of a nunnery. Thus John had a “double” monastery to all intents and purposes such as his own spiritual home at Whitby. Lands were freely given for the endowment of this monastery.

On John’s retirement from York in 718 he nominated his pupil Wilfrid to be his successor. John enjoyed the quiet of Beverley for four years, being called to his rest on May 7, 721. He was buried at Beverley. His shrine became a popular resort, and many costly offerings were made. His body was translated by Elfric, Archbishop of York, to a still more costly shrine. A fire caused a second translation in 1198, and in 1664 and 1736 it was again seen.

S. John is considered to be the patron of the deaf and dumb, in allusion to his miracle at Eaglescliff. He was canonised by Benedict IX. in 1037.

## WILFRID, 705

SEE his life under Bishops of Lindisfarne. He succeeded Tuda, Bishop of Lindisfarne, in 665, but placed his *sedes* at York. By the compromise of 705 he had the see of Hexham and the monastery at Ripon.

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## ACCA, 710

A Northumbrian—Wilfrid's friend and companion—Rome—Meaux—Succeeds Wilfrid at Hexham—Forms a library—Bede and Acca—Exiled—S. Andrews—Death, 740—Acca's "tombstones"—His grave opened—Relics and miracles.

ACCA, a Northumbrian, was brought up in the house of Bosa, Bishop of York. He became Wilfrid's companion in his wanderings, and at all times his faithful friend. Both laboured amongst the South Saxons with much acceptance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Life of S. Wilfrid.

Acca visited Rome with Wilfrid in 704. On their way they had called upon Willibrord, in Friesland.

Pope John VI. received Wilfrid and his companion with great kindness, confirmed the ruling of his predecessor with respect to Theodore's uncanonical proceedings, and urged upon Wilfrid the duty and necessity of returning to Northumbria. Acca returned with Wilfrid. They conveyed relics and treasures for the church of their native land.

When Wilfrid was seized with sickness at Meaux, Acca was in constant attendance. On the fifth day, when Wilfrid recovered from his stupor and was able to speak, he led the thanksgiving of the brethren for their father's recovery. To Acca alone Wilfrid confided the account of his vision of Michael the Archangel "sent to save him from death," and to assure him of final triumph over his troubles.

During Wilfrid's retirement at Hexham he nominated Acca as abbot, and in the same year he was appointed bishop. He worked on Wilfrid's lines. He adorned the church of Hexham with chapels and shrines, in which he placed relics of many saints, lamps, candlesticks, sacred vessels, and other treasures. He also formed a noble library, which he constantly sought to enrich with the lives of the saints and martyrs, works on architecture, theology, music, etc. This valuable collection was destroyed by the Danes when they descended upon Hexham. He was an "expert singer,

as well as most learned in Holy Writ, most pure in the confession of the Catholic Faith, and most observant in the rules of ecclesiastical institution, nor did he cease to be so until he received the rewards of his pious devotion" (Bede, *E. H.* v. 20).

Bede wrote from an intimate knowledge of Acca, to whom he was indebted for information inserted in his *Ecclesiastical History*, especially the miracle at S. Oswald's tomb (*E. H.* iii. 13) and the cessation of a pestilence by his intercession (iv. 14).

Bede compiled his Commentaries on S. Mark and S. Luke at Acca's suggestion, and addressed the former, as well as his Hexameron and a poem on the "Day of Judgment," to him. Bede's commentaries were probably intended to be text-books of the Northumbrian province.

In 732 Acca was driven from his see. No valid reason has been assigned for the exile of so worthy an ecclesiastic.

Egbert, Archbishop of York, consecrated Frithbert as Acca's successor. He cheerfully bore his disappointment, and after the example of his revered master, Wilfrid, then at rest, he continued the work of evangelisation during his exile, probably in the Pictish kingdom in the vicinity of Whitherne.

It is curious that the legend of Regulus and S. Andrews has been attributed in its main features to Acca during his exile. This is Skene's interpretation—"The leading features belong to the time of the Pictish



King, Ungus I., son of Unguist, who reigned about 730-761, and was engaged in war with the Saxons." He further draws attention to the church of Hexham at the same date, and the banishment of Bishop Acca from his see A.D. 732. He may have been at Candida Casa (Whitherne), but more probably not farther distant among the Southern Picts, and leaving there, as he had at Hexham, a church dedicated to S. Andrew, with chapels to S. Michael the Archangel and S. Mary the Virgin. At this time the relics of S. Andrew, which Acca believed he had at Hexham, would naturally be introduced into S. Andrews, and hence the legend takes its origin.<sup>1</sup>

Acca died October 20, 740, and was buried at Hexham. Two stone crosses of beautiful workmanship were placed, one at the head and the other at the foot of his grave.<sup>2</sup>

About two hundred and fifty years after Acca's death his grave was opened, and his vestments, said to have been in good condition, were taken out and kept by the monks amongst their relics. According to John of Hexham, a portable altar<sup>3</sup> was found upon Acca's

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gammack.

<sup>2</sup> A portion of Acca's cross was found in Hexham Abbey grounds. Another portion was found at Dilston, where it was used as a door lintel. Another piece is missing. Scrolls, bunches of grapes and tendrils are beautifully worked. The inscriptions *A . . . A sanctus huius ecclesiae* and *unigeniti fili Dei*. It was customary to set up stone crosses (Bicepstane = Bishop's stones) at this time.

<sup>3</sup> See note on portable altars under "S. Cuthbert."

breast. It was joined by two keys of silver and inscribed, *Almae trinitati, hagiæ sophiæ,<sup>1</sup> sanctæ mariæ*.

Miracles have been attributed to Acca's relics. The application of the water in which his bones had been steeped is said to have restored sight to a blind woman, and to have caused a man, who was unable either to speak or eat, to do both.

<sup>1</sup> The church at York was dedicated to fostering wisdom—*almae sophiæ*.

## FRITHBERT, 734

Consecrated by Egbert—Cynewulf—Death, 766—Translation of Frithbert's relics.

FRITHBERT was consecrated Bishop of Hexham on September 8, 734, by Archbishop Egbert.

During the imprisonment of Cynewulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne, Frithbert had charge of that see.

He was Bishop of Hexham thirty-two years, and died December 23, 766.

In 1154, when the bones of various saints of Hexham were translated, Frithbert's were found with an inscription on the coffer. One of his teeth was preserved at Durham.

## ALCHMUND, 767

His consecration—No particulars of his life.

ALCHMUND was consecrated April 24, 767, the same day as Albert (Ethelbert), the “fourth founder of the church of York,”<sup>1</sup> was consecrated archbishop.

There are no particulars of Alchmund’s episcopate. He died in 780.

<sup>1</sup> So called by Dean Gale because he was a restorer of the church and chief collector of its once famous library.

## TILBERT, 781

Consecrated at Wolf's Well—Legatine Council—Elfwold the Just slain—His tomb—Death of Tilbert, 789.

TILBERT was consecrated at Wolf's Well, supposed to be Ulva in Westmoreland, where there is a holy well, or Haltwhistle. He is mentioned as being present at the consecration of Aldulf by Archbishop Eanbald in the church of S. Andrew at Corbridge. Aldulf was probably Bishop of Mayo who attended the legatine council at Finchale.<sup>1</sup> Communication between Mayo and Northumbria had been kept up since the departure of Colman and his disciples from Lindisfarne.

In the last year of Tilbert's episcopate, Alfwold the Just was slain "near the wall," and his body was conveyed to Hexham and buried in the church of S. Andrew. To this day there is an altar tomb, a thirteenth-century representation of an earlier one, to his memory in the abbey. A church, dedicated to S. Cuthbert and S. Oswald, was erected on the spot where the King was murdered.<sup>1</sup>

Tilbert died in 789. His remains were found at the translation of the Hexham relics in 1154.

<sup>1</sup> See Life of Higbald.

## ETHELBERT, 789

Consecrated Bishop of Whitherne—Friend of Alcuin—Translated to Hexham—Death, 797.

ETHELBERT was consecrated Bishop of Whitherne on June 10, 777, at York. He signed the decrees of the Northumbrian Council at Finchale (787) as Bishop of Whitherne. He was a friend of Alcuin, and corresponded with him on the subject of increasing the library at Hexham. In 791 Ethelbert assisted at the consecration of Badulf as Bishop of Whitherne and Eanbald II. of York. He also assisted at the coronation of Eardulf, King of Northumbria, in 795.

Ethelbert died at Bartun in 797, and was buried at Hexham.

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## EADRED, 797

Consecrated by Eanbald II.—Died, 800.

THE consecration of Eadred at Woodford was the first metropolitanical act of Eanbald II. He was assisted by Higbald of Lindisfarne. Nothing is known of Eadred beyond that he died in the year 800.

## EANBERT, 800

EANBERT was consecrated at Ethingaham (? Ettringham) the same year as Eadred died (800). Eanbert occupied the see of Hexham for thirteen or fourteen years.

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## TIDFERT, 814

Extinction of the see—The screen at Hexham—"The bishops 'dis-interred' by painting."

TIDFERT<sup>1</sup> was the last Bishop of Hexham. Twelve prelates had ruled the diocese from its formation until its extinction in 820, which was probably due to the great Pictish upheaval under Angus, son of Fergus.

Several of the bishops are commemorated by portraits painted on a screen which now unfortunately is regarded as so much "lumber."

Didron, referring to Bishop Geoffrey's work after the cathedral of Auxerre had been partially destroyed by

<sup>1</sup> A portion of a stone cross inscribed with the name of Tidfert was found at Wearmouth. It has been suggested that he was the last Bishop of Hexham, and visited the monastery of Benedict Biscop whilst on his way to Rome (*Annals of Hexham*).

fire, says “that in the space of one year he caused it to be repaired, and the circular wall of the inclosure surrounding the altar to be filled with fresco portraits of the holy bishops his predecessors. He desired by that means not only to direct the eye of the officiating priests from the contemplation of all vain and profane objects, but, above all, to assist those who were likely to be distracted by vanity or weariness; thus in the presence of those images, and at the recollection of those pious persons, disinterred as it were by painting, the mind of each was recalled as by a living counsellor to the courage of piety.” The portraits of the saints of Hexham served a like purpose—for a time!



BRIEF NOTICES OF  
THE BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK  
THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY  
AND  
THE POPES OF ROME  
*FOR THE CORRESPONDING PERIOD*

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ABBREVIATIONS

*Bp.* = Bishop. *Abp.* = Archbishop. *i* = see index. *l* = see life of.  
*c* = council. *cons.* = consecrated. *k* = king. *d* = died.



## THE BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK (665—1021)

665. WILFRID (inserted under Bps. of Lindisfarne in order to preserve continuity of narrative).

665. CHAD, or CEADDA. Native of Northumbria; resided some time in an Irish monastery, where he "prayed, observed continency, and studied the Holy Scriptures." Removed to Lindisfarne, afterwards to Lastingham. Nominated Bp. of York by K. Oswin during Wilfrid's absence. Went into Kent for consecration; found that Deusdedit was dead; was consecrated by Wini of Wessex. Chad continued to act as Bp. on Wilfrid's return. Theodore (669) reproved Chad for the irregularity of his consecration, which was subsequently corrected. Chad retired to Lastingham until death of Jaruman, Bp. of Mercia (Lichfield), when he succeeded him by request of Theodore and Oswin. His Book of the Gospels is preserved at Lichfield; d. at Lichfield, March 2, 672. "Angelic songs announced his deliverance." Egbert, a companion, in Ireland "saw his soul descending with a retinue of angels and returning with that of his brother, who had been absent from him so long."

669. WILFRID restored (*l*).

678. BOSA. A pupil of S. Hilda. Cons. by Theodore during Wilfrid's "disgrace." On Wilfrid's return Bosa lost his position, but regained it in 686. One of Acca's instructors (*l*). Pope John VI. ordered Bosa to be present at a synod called to discuss Wilfrid's concerns.

705. JOHN OF BEVERLEY. (See "Bishops of Hexham.")

718. WILFRID II. Cousin or nephew of Wilfrid I. and pupil of John. Vice-dominus of York minster. Accused Bede of heresy in his works, "*Sex ætatibus mundi*." Bede charged Wilfrid with self-indulgence at meals (*Ep. ad Egbertum*). Wilfrid made many

gifts to York and other churches. Retired in 732, and d. 744 or 745. Abp. Odo took his bones from Ripon, believing them to be those of Wilfrid I.

732. **EGBERT.** A Northumbrian of royal birth, and cousin of the "most glorious Ceolwulf." Ordained deacon in Rome. Consecrated 732. Bede gave him outlines of a bishop's duties, urged him to translate the Creed and Lord's Prayer into Saxon for the use of teachers and pupils. He complained that in some districts taxed for the support of the Bishops, people had never seen them, and were without ministers and teachers. There was need of more Bishops. Gross vices were practised in the monasteries, church lands were misappropriated, the country was full of disorder and corruption, etc. Egbert went to Rome for the pall (*temp.* Gregory III.). In 738 the Archbishop's brother, Eadbert, became king. Amongst Egbert's writings were a *Pontifical*, *Excerpts from the Fathers*, *Dialogues on the Institution of the Church*, a *Confessional*, and a *Penitential*. He was the first prelate who possessed a mint at York, gave valuable presents, consisting of gold and silver vessels, silk, etc., to the Church. Founder of the famous Library and School. Alcuin (*i*) was one of his pupils. Egbert is said to have been a disciplinarian. According to Alcuin he was most systematic in his daily duties. In the morning he sent for some of his young clerks, whom he instructed in succession sitting on his couch. He celebrated Mass at noon in his private chapel. After dinner he heard his scholars discuss literary questions; in the evening said Compline with them, and gave his blessing to each one kneeling at his feet. In 757 Ceolwulf entered the "monastery." Egbert corresponded with Boniface, who asked for Bede's Commentary, and sent Gregory's Epistles in return.

Egbert d. November 19, 766.

767. **ALBERT (ETHELBERT).** "Fourth founder of the Church of York" (*Gale*). "One of the most able men in Europe" (*Raine*). A scholar of Egbert. Became master of the school and a most successful teacher. Laboured unceasingly to enrich the library; brought treasures from abroad; supplied the mission field with earnest men. Cons. April 24, 767. Received pall, 773. Erected new church ("Minster"), adorned altars, etc., with gold, silver, and precious stones. Set up altar in the chapel where K. Edwin had been baptized

and dedicated it to S. Paul. Corresponded with Lullus (*i*). Egbert made Eanbald his coadjutor, and gave Alcuin (*i*) charge of the school. Albert retired into solitude. Ten days before death he dedicated the new minster; d. November 8, 781 or 782, at York.

782. EANBALD I. Vice dominus. Albert's coadjutor. Had great share in building the new minster. Alcuin brought him the pall from Rome. Eanbald was present at the Legatine council, 786 (*i*). Died August 10, at Ethlete (? Aycliffe).

794. EANBALD II. Favourite pupil of Alcuin, and called "Symeon" by him. They were friends until death. Eanbald was cons. at Sochasburg (Sockburn-on-Tees). Attempted to recover part of his diocese taken from him by Offa. President at c. of Pincanhalth, 798 (*i*). The Abp. lived in troublous times. Alcuin's Letters intimate that his consistent conduct endangered his life. (See Life of Egbert, Bp. Lindisfarne). In 808 K. Eardulf was deposed (*i*).

812. WULFSY. Egred, Bp. of Lindisfarne, is said to have communicated with him respecting an alleged miracle. Nothing more is known of Wulfsy. D. 831.

837. WIGMUND. Little known of him beyond the fact that he kept up connection with the continent, and corresponded with the abbot of Ferrieres (Lupus), and issued coins from the mint at York.

854. WULFERE. Danes in York. Wulfere escaped to Addingham in Wharfedale. D. between 890 and 892.

ETHELBALD. Nothing is known of him.

REDEWALD, or LOTHWALD. Nothing known of him.

WULSTAN. Nominated by Athelstan (*i*). On his death Wulstan turned soldier. Intrigued with Danes against Edmund. With Anlaf when he stormed Leicester. In 947 Abp. conspired and raised Eric to the throne, upon which Edred invaded Northumbria. Wulstan was imprisoned at Jedburgh, nominally for putting to death certain citizens of Thetford for the unjust death of the abbot Aldelm. D. at Oundle, December 26, 955.

ETHELWOLD soon resigned his see, preferring a quiet life.

972. OSWALD. Of Danish extraction; related to Odo, Abp. Canterbury, and Oskytel, Abp. York. Frithegode, one of Wilfrid's biographers, inspired him to a noble life by relating the deeds of great churchmen. Oswald became canon and afterwards dean of Winchester. Disgusted with the avarice of his brethren. Professed

at Fleury. Pressed by Odo to return home; the abp. died before Oswald reached Canterbury. Visited Rome with Oskytel; stayed at Fleury for a time before returning to York. Through Dunstan's influence Oswald became Bp. of Worcester in 961. Advocated Rule of S. Benedict; was partially responsible for "Oswald's law" (expulsion of the clergy). Drove out secular canons, and put monks into their places. Re-modelled Ely, S. Albans, Pershore, and Winchcombe. Unsuccessful at Worcester. Endeavoured to deprive the canons of their property, and built a rival cemetery. Trans. to York, 972. Received pall in Rome from Pope John. Oswald presided over the see twenty years. Said to have carried bones of S. Wilfrid to Worcester. Odo is also said to have carried them to Canterbury (see *Lives of Wilfrid I. and II.*). Oswald brought Abbo, abbot of Fleury, to England. He wrote *Life of S. Edmund, k. and martyr*, on the invitation of Dunstan. His work is the most ancient and valuable narrative illustrating S. Edmund's position in the England of his day, and his character and influence in East Anglia. Fleury supplied Oswald with monks to start Ramsey Abbey under Germanus. Abbo also founded schools at Canterbury, York, Cambridge, and S. Edmund's Bury. Abbo returned to Fleury, and when visiting Gascony was slain as a martyr. Oswald died February 28, 992, and was buried at Worcester. Miracles were said to have occurred at his tomb.

**ADULF.** Chancellor to K. Edgar, entered the monastery of S. Peter at Medehamstead (Peterboro') on the death of his son. He bestowed his wealth upon the Church. Became abbot. As Abp. of York maintained its independence of Canterbury. Assisted at the translation of Oswald's remains from Worcester, April 15, 1002. D. June 5 same year.

**WULSTAN II.** A monk. Present at c. of Eynsham, Oxfordshire (1006), when 32 canons were enacted for the direction of the Church and the State with special reference to the ravages of the Danes. Witnessed K. Canute's grant of privileges to Canterbury (1018). Consecrated Abp. Ethelnoth and Edmund, Bp. of Durham. A benefactor to the church of Ely. Held see of Worcester with York. Said to have been author of certain Homilies to which the name of Lupus is affixed, and to have promulgated Laws of the Northumbrian priests. "Haymo studied under him; Alfric Bata assisted him in his

literary labours; Alfric of Canterbury remembered him affectionately in his will." At Ely Wulstan's staff sank into the ground—"here shall be my resting-place." He died at York, May 28, 1023, and requested that his bones should be taken to Ely. Miracles are said to have attested his sanctity.

## THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY

(627—1020)

627. **HONORIUS.** A Roman and pupil of S. Gregory the Great, companion of Augustine. Consecrated by Paulinus at (?) Lincoln, 627. The last Italian Bp. of the A.-S. Church, obtained palls for York and Canterbury. Made Paulinus, after his retreat from the North, Bp. of Rochester.

See Bede, *E. H.*, ii. 18. D. September 30, 653.

655. **DEUDEDIT (FRITHONA).** A West Saxon. Consecrated by Ithamar, Bp. of Rochester, March 26, 655. Conciliatory in his dealings with the Celtic Church. Assisted at dedication of Peterbro' (Medehamstead) monastery. D. of yellow fever, 664.

Interregnum of four years.

668. **THEODORE THE PHILOSOPHER.** Born at Tarsus in Cilicia, 602. Educated there and at Athens. Visited Rome, 667. Selected by Pope Vitalian in place of Wighard, who died at Rome before being consecrated for Canterbury. Afterwards ordained sub-deacon, deacon, priest, and consecrated bishop, March 26, 668. Reached Canterbury May 27, 669. Made tour of the island; well received by many. His arbitrary conduct made enemies. Through his influence ancient sees were divided, and the number of bishops increased from nine to seventeen. He presided at synod of Hertford (*i*), September 24, 673, and selected ten articles, framed on ancient models. Deposed Winfrid, Bp. of Mercia, and Tumbert, Bp. of Hexham (*l*). Presided over synod of Hatfield, September 17, 680. Condemned monothelite heresy, and in 684 c. Twyford on Alne (*i*). In 686 Theodore and Wilfrid reconciled.

Many of Theodore's acts were irregular, and were unconfirmed by the Popes. He was the first abp. recognized by all the nations.



His policy was wise and his zeal unbounded. He laid the foundation of national unity, supported Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics in their efforts to promote culture, established annual synod, and the parochial system.

Author of the *Penitential*, which contained rules for church management and his decisions in cases of discipline. Abp. Egbert of York classes Theodore with Paphnutius, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory. Pope Zachary in 748 said his great name gave authority to the synodical acts of the English Church. "His piety and religion, although always mentioned with reverence, do not seem to have been of the type which recommended itself to monastic hagiographers, for no life of Theodore seems ever to have been written, nor were miracles worked at his grave" (*Dr. Stubbs*). D. September 19, 690. Buried in S. Peter's, Canterbury; remains translated September 6, 1091. (See my lives of Wilfrid, Tumbert, and Index.)

See vacant two years.

693. BERTWALD, or BRIHTWALD. An Anglo-Saxon of royal birth. Sometime abbot of Reculver. Consecrated by Godwin, Abp. Lyons, June 29, 693. Present at synod of Bapchild (Beccancelde), in which Wihtred, k. of Kent, "renewed and confirmed the liberties, privileges, and possessions of the Church in his realm" (*Hook*) and at Clovesho (716). Pope Sergius is said to have written to the kings and bps. of Britain urging obedience to Bertwald. Advocated liberation of slaves. Encouraged foreign missionary work. Received Boniface. In constant conflict with Wilfrid (*l*). Opposed to Wilfrid's appeal beyond a native synod. D. Jan. 13, 731.

731. TATWIN. A Mercian. Monk of Bredon. Cons. June 10, 731, by Daniel of Winchester, the two Mercian bps., Ingwald of London, Aldwin of Lichfield, and Aldulf of Rochester (*Bede, E. H., v. 23*). Went to Rome for pall. Poems, riddles, etc., ascribed to him. D. July 30, 734.

735. NOTHELM. An archpriest of S. Paul's, London. A famous penman and copyist. Friend of Bede. Visited Rome. Well received by Gregory II. Transferred information gathered to Bede for his works. Cons. 735. Received pall, 736. Corresponded with Boniface, who referred questions on marriage and Augustine's mission

to him. Held a provincial synod 736 or 737, which was attended by nine bishops. D. Oct. 17, (?) 739.

740. CUTHBERT. A Mercian. Abbot of S. Mary's, Liming, Kent. Cons. Bp. of Hereford, 736. Trans. to Canterbury, 740. Reproved K. Ethelbald for his vices. Went to Rome for pall. Pope Zacharias gave him permission to have a cemetery within the city walls. An intimate friend of Boniface (*i*) and Lullus (*i*), to whom he wrote respecting their martyrdom of Boniface. A benefactor to the churches of Hereford and Canterbury. Sang his own praises. D. Oct. 26, 758. Buried surreptitiously by the canons in Christ Church, Canterbury, in order to outwit the monks, who claimed the bodies of the abps. for interment in their own church.

759. BREGWIN. Cons. Sep. 30, 759, having for some time declined the honour. He "ascended the pontifical chair to rule the Church of God amidst the exultations of all" (*Eadmer*). Corresponded with Lullus (*i*), whom he had met in Rome. Uncertain whether he received pall from Paul I. D. August 765. Monks again outwitted with regard to his burial. His body was buried in the chapel of S. John Baptist in the cathedral. Monks threatened to appeal to the Pope.

766. JAENBERT, or LAMBERT. Abbot of S. Augustine's and leader of the infuriated monks, whom he armed in order to obtain the body of Bregwin. Was elected abp. to conciliate the monks. Cons. Feb. 2, 766. Opposed the designs of Mercia on Kent. Received many grants of land for the Church. At c. of Chelsea (787) he was compelled to release his suffragans from the oath of canonical obedience except bps. of Rochester, London, Selsey, Winchester, and Sherburn. Lichfield became an abpric. Received Roman legates, George and Theophylac (*i*). D. August 11, 790 (?). The last Anglo-Saxon abp. buried at S. Augustine's.

See vacant about three years.

793. ETHELHARD. A monk. Cons. July 21, 793. Nominated representatives for c. of Frankfort. Excommunicated Eadbert Pren, a monk in holy orders, for claiming the throne of Kent. Deserted his see during troublous times, and travelled abroad with large retinue. Rebuked by Alcuin (*i*) for his cowardice and unfaithfulness. Returned home, and was reinstated. D. 805.

805. **WULFRED.** A native of Kent, and first archdeacon of Canterbury. Nominated by K. Kenwulf, elected by the chapter. Cons. Aug. 805. Wulfred enriched his chapter, also his own family. Allowed the monks to have houses constructed by themselves, and to bequeath them to the inmates of the monastery. They were, however, obliged to frequent the dormitory and refectory according to the rule, but not allowed to entertain guests in their cells. Wulfred was present at the synod of Chelsea (816). He quarrelled with Kenwulf respecting the possession of a manor. Went to Rome (his second journey) to lay the matter before the Pope. Kenwulf, indignant, summoned the abp. to a council in London, and threatened to exile him unless he surrendered the manor. He meekly submitted. He was present at various councils at Ockley and Clovesho. D. 832.

832. **FEOLGILD.** An abbot. Cons. June 9, 832. D. Aug. 29, 832.

833. **CEOLNOTH.** First dean of Canterbury. Cons. Aug. 27, 833. The Danes troubled the Church during this archiepiscopate. D. 870.

870. **ETHELRED.** Trans. to Canterbury, 870. City and churches ravaged by Danes. A man of missionary spirit, energetic, pious and learned. D. 889.

890. **PLEGMUND.** A hermit, learned in the Scriptures. Friend of Alfred the Great. The Alcuin of Alfred's court. Cons. at Rome, 890, by Pope Formosus. Compiled part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. "Laboured diligently to secure for the Church a learned ministry." D. July 23, 914.

914. **ATHELM, or ADHELM.** Monk of Glastonbury, bp. of Wells. Cons. 905. Trans. to Canterbury, 914. D. 923.

923. **WULFHELM.** Succeeded Athelm at Wells and at Canterbury. Officiated at coronation of Athelstan. Visited Rome in 972. D. 942.

**ODO.** Son of a Dane. Disinherited on his conversion. Adopted by Athelm, who took him to Rome. Cons. Bp. of Ramsbury (afterwards joined to Salisbury). Trans. to Canterbury through Dunstan's influence. Repaired the cathedral. Became a monk. Took vows at Fleury. Responsible for (a) Separation of married clergy from their wives; (b) expulsion of secular clergy from cathedrals; (c) intro-

duction of Rule of S. Benedict. Was called Odo Severus, but Dunstan designated him "the good." Odo pronounced divorce between Edwy and Elgiva. D. June 958.

BRITHELM, Bp. Bath and Wells, was selected for abprie., "but he was too modest, humble, and kind to restrain as he ought the haughty and rebellious under the lash of correction," and King Edgar ordered him to return to his former dignity.

960. DUNSTAN. Son of Heorstan and Cynethryth. B. near Glastonbury. Guardian of the "hord" of Edmund. Made abbot of Glastonbury. Fond of music and literature, and a worker in precious metals. Became "the Gerbert not the Hildebrand of the tenth century" (*Stubbs*). Under his policy Edred, successor of Edmund, recovered territory from the Danes, and assumed title of Cæsar (955). Dunstan declined bpric. of Crediton. On Edwy's accession Dunstan's policy was reversed and he was banished. Dunstan refused to absolve Edwy for his marriage within the prohibited degrees, although commanded by the Pope to do so. Mercians and Northumbrians revolted. Edgar made king. Dunstan recalled and made Bp. of Worcester and London. Retained secular canons in both places. Trans. to Canterbury, 960. Under Dunstan's statesmanlike guidance Edgar's reign was peaceful. On his death (975) Dunstan was again driven from power. Many stories connected with him are fictitious. The latter part of Dunstan's life was spent in devotion and retirement. He built and restored over forty monasteries. Had three thousand parish churches under his jurisdiction, many of which were served by monks. D. 988.

988. ETHELGAR. A monk at Glastonbury (under Dunstan) and Abingdon. Abbot of Newminster. Bp. of Selsey, 980. Trans. to Canterbury, 988. D. 989.

990. SIRIC. Cons. Bp. of "Wiltshire" by Dunstan, 985. Trans. to Canterbury, 990. Learned and energetic man, but bad adviser. Encouraged Crown to buy off Danes with disastrous results. Collected valuable library. D. 994.

995. ELFRIC. Monk and student at Abingdon, Winchester, and Cerne. Opposed to secular clergy. Cons. Bp. of Ramsbury. Trans. to Canterbury, 995. Wrote books of Homilies. Visited Rome for pall.

1005. ELFEGE. Monk and anchorite. Appointed Bp. of Winchester

by Dunstan. Trans. to Canterbury, 1005. Visited Rome for pall. Seized whilst at prayer by Danes, who dragged him about with them in chains for seven months, and beat him with ox bones during drunken revel. A Christian Dane clave the abp.'s skull in order to terminate his sufferings. Danes seized with remorse, gave his body to his friends for burial (in London). Translated to Canterbury ten years later.

1013. LIVING. Cons. Bp. of Wells, 999. Trans. to Canterbury, 1013. Did not receive pall. D. 1020.

## THE POPES OF ROME

(625—1024)

THE following brief notices refer to their ecclesiastical rather than their civil transactions, and to their dealings with the Church in the British Isles in particular.

625. HONORIUS I. A Campanian. Reformer of clergy, and Monothelite heretic. Was anathematised. Ordered Saturday litanies, in procession, in Rome. Wrote to the Irish on the Paschal question. Took Luxneu under his protection. Sent palls to Honorius, Abp. Cant., and Paulinus of York, with directions that either should consecrate a successor without having recourse to Rome. Wrote to Edwin, K. Northumbria, exhorting him to perseverance in good works, and to the frequent perusal of the writings of S. Gregory (Bede, *E. H.*, ii. 17, 18). Sent Birinus to Britain.

640. SEVERINUS I. A Roman. A man of extraordinary piety and liberality. Elected but not ordained until May 28, as the Emperor Heraclius declined to confirm the election unless he accepted the Ecthesis. After his ordination did not comply with the Emperor's condition. The Lateran Treasury plundered by Isaac, Exarch of Ravenna. Scottish bps. wrote Severinus on Paschal question; he died before it reached Rome. His successor, John IV., answered it. He found fault, not with their cycle, but with their practice of celebrating Easter on any day between the 14th and 20th day of the Paschal month, instead of between 15th and 21st, and warned them against the Pelagian heresy.

640. JOHN IV. A Dalmatian. A collector of relics. Redeemed many captives. Condemned Monothelite heresy and the Ecthesis. (See previous note.) D. Oct. 642.

642. THEODORE I. A Greek, and son of a Bp. of Jerusalem.

"Obliging to all men, extraordinarily bountiful to the poor." Protested against Monothelites. Censured Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, for favouring heretics. The "Type" issued by Constans, 648.

649. MARTIN I. A Tuscan. Condemned the Ecthesis and the "Type." Conveyed to Constantinople, where he was loaded with chains and dragged through the streets. Imprisoned, and afterwards banished to the Crimea, where he died Sep. 16, 655. His remains were translated to Rome.

654. EUGENIUS I. A Roman. Cons. Aug. 10, 654, during Martin's banishment. On his death he was accepted as lawful Pope. He erected prisons for his refractory and immoral clergy.

657. VITALIAN. A Campanian. Conciliatory. Sent legates to Constantinople, who were well received. Constans visited Rome and carried off treasures. Maurus, Abp. of Ravenna, urged his clergy to withstand papal supremacy. Sent Theodore of Tarsus to Britain (*i, l*). Wrote to K. Oswy (*i*). D. 672.

672. ADEODATUS A Roman monk. Benignant and hospitable. Confirmed liberties of S. Peter's monastery, Canterbury, at request of Abbot Hadrian. D. June 676.

676. DOMNUS I. A Roman. Cons. 676. Censured and dispersed Nestorian monks. Reduced church of Ravenna to obedience. D. 678.

678. AGATHO. A Sicilian monk. Sent legates to Sixth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople, which condemned Monothelites. Claimed for all Papal decrees the authority of S. Peter. Wilfrid appealed to Agatho. Gave certain privileges to Wearmouth, Medehamstead (Peterbro'), Hexham, and Ripon abbeys, and to S. Paul's, London. Sent John the Precentor into England. Anglo-Saxons resisted his claims. D. Jan. 10, 682.

682. LEO II. A learned Sicilian. Composer of hymns and music. Ordained that the Pax should be given at Holy Communion. Trouble with church of Ravenna. D. May 3, 683.

684. BENEDICT II. A Roman "of great compassion, charity and goodwill." Emperor Constantine decreed that all bps. chosen in Rome should be acknowledged as Christ's true vicars without expecting authority of Emperor and his exarchs, but did not renounce his right of imperial confirmation. The Spanish Church asserted its

independence of Rome. Benedict ordered Wilfrid to be restored to York. D. May 7, 686.

685. JOHN V. A Syrian. Wrote concerning the dignity of the pall. Restrained Archbishops of Carlaris in Sardinia from ordaining bishops independently of the Roman See. D. Aug. 686.

686. CONON I. A Thracian "of great learning and very good life." His latter years were embittered by intrigues. D. 687.

687. SERGIUS I. A Syrian and priest of S. Susanna, Rome. Competition and bribery. Exarch of Ravenna withdrew his nominee, Paschal, for 100 lbs. of gold. Sergius pledged gold candlesticks and ornaments of S. Peter's Tomb to pay him. Refused to acknowledge decrees of c. "Quinisextum," although signed by papal apocrisiarii. Ordered *Agnus Dei* to be sung at the fraction of the Host. Said to have discovered a small piece of the true cross in the sacrum of S. Peter's. Sergius baptised Cadwalla, k. of West Saxons, Easter Eve, 689. Consecrated Willibrord Bp. of Utrecht (2). Is said to have invited Ven. Bede to Rome (1) and to have written two letters to the English Church. D. Sep. 1, 701.

702. JOHN VI. A Grecian. Redeemed captives.

705. JOHN VII. A Grecian, "who spake and lived well." Beautified many churches with statues and pictures. D. Oct. 707.

707. SISINNIIUS. A Syrian. Made preparations to fortify Rome. Died from gout twenty days after his election.

708. CONSTANTINE I. A Syrian. Time of famine and pestilence. Felix, Abp. of Ravenna, refused to acknowledge supremacy of Bp. of Rome, and declared his willingness to have his eyes put out with a hot iron rather than yield. This actually happened when Justinian II. sacked Ravenna. Subsequently Felix was reconciled to Rome. Constantine defied Phillippicus Bardanes' edict against images and pictures, and denounced him as an apostate. D. Feb. 716.

715. GREGORY II. A learned and eloquent Roman, and father of the doctrine of the Pope's universal supremacy. Restored city walls and churches. Also S. Cross in Jerusalem. Became sole master in Rome. Sent Boniface (Winifrid) to convert the Germans. Refused to remove pictures at command of Emperor Leo the Isaurian. Gregory told Leo that "all the kingdoms of the world did hold S. Peter for an earthly god" (*Barrow*). Persuaded Luitprand to leave his crown and regal robes as an offering at



S. Peter's shrine. Ceolfrid's Pandect presented to Sergius (i). Many of his letters are preserved. D. Feb. 731.

731. GREGORY III. A Syrian worthy of the name of "Common Father and Pastor." Excommunicated Emperor Leo for heresy and iconoclasm. Great collector of relics. D. 741.

741. Zacharias I. A Grecian. Much beloved by clergy and people. Made Boniface primate of Germany. Forbad sale of slaves by the Venetians. Translated four books of Gregory into Greek in dialogues. Affirmed opinion of S. Virgilius as to irregular baptisms; condemned, conditionally, his doctrine of the existence of the Antipodes. D. 752.

STEPHEN II. elected, but died three days after.

752. STEPHEN III. A Roman of "extraordinary piety and prudence." Forged a letter from S. Peter to Pipin, promising Paradise if he went to the aid of Rome, and threatened hell if he did not. (*Milman*, ii. 180.) D. 757.

757. PAUL I. A Roman fruitful in many good works. Advised the Emperor to set up images on pain of excommunication. Wrote to Eadbert, K. of Northumbria, stating that Abbot Fordred had complained to him that he had taken three monasteries, and given them to the patrician Moll, and asked him to restore them. D. 767.

768. STEPHEN IV. A Sicilian monk, and priest of S. Cecilia. K. Desiderius obtained a canonical election by force and drove out Constantine, a layman, who had been elected Pope, and put the tiara on Stephen's head. The Pope was ungrateful for many services rendered by this king. D. 772.

772. ADRIAN I. A Roman renowned for "greatness of mind, prudence, and sanctity." Conferred sovereignty of Rome on Charles and his successors, and presented him with the forged donation of Constantine. Endeavoured to revive image worship with assistance of Irene, widow of Leo IV. Sent a legate into England, who wrote to him stating that no Roman legate had been sent to England for nearly two hundred years after Augustine. D. 795.

795. LEO III. On his election assaulted by the Romans and left for dead. Said to have made the first formal canonisation (of S. Suibert, 804). Crowned Charles emperor. Offa, K. of

Mercia, promised annual subvention of 365 mancuses to the Pope for the poor and maintenance of the lamps at S. Peter's. Received the exiled Eardulf, K. of Northumbria (806). Wrote to Abp. Eanbald II. of York respecting him (*i*). D. 816.

816. STEPHEN V. Assisted at the coronation of Louis, son of Charles, at Rheims. D. 817.

817. PASCHAL I. A Roman abbot. Elected without Emperor's permission. Louis protested. Paschal was charged with being accessory to the death of two citizens, but cleared himself; at the same time, he refused to give up the perpetrators of the deed as they belonged to the "family of S. Peter."

824. EUGENIUS II. A Roman and archpriest of the Lateran Church. The "Father of the Poor." Invented ordeal by cold water.

827. VALENTINE I. A Roman deacon. Died on the fortieth day of his pontificate "as a punishment upon the sins of that age." First Pope upon whom the ceremony of kissing the toe was practised.

827. GREGORY IV. A cardinal "remarkable for his birth, famous for his sanctity, notable for learning and eloquence, famous for his care and diligence both in spiritual and civil affairs." Instituted Feast of All Saints (Nov. 1). D. 844.

844. SERGIUS II., surnamed Swinesmouth. The first Pope to change his name. Declared that seventy-two witnesses were necessary to prove a crime against a bishop. Saracens plundered S. Peter's, Rome, during his pontificate.

847. LEO IV. A Roman, "zealous and courageous." Ethelwulf made his country tributary to Church of Rome by charging a penny upon every house. K. Alfred said to have been anointed by the Pope when five years old. D. July 17, 854 or 855.

855. BENEDICT III. The assertion that a woman under the title of John VIII. succeeded Leo IV. is pure fiction. There was some rivalry as to the successor of Leo. The profligate Anastasius, who had been deposed for non-residence, was put up in opposition to Benedict, and received the support of the Emperor, who subsequently gave way to the people, who had chosen Benedict. Visit of Ethelwulf, K. of the Kentishmen and the West Saxons, to Rome.

858. NICOLAS I. A Roman. Refused the dignity and hid himself. He was the first pope who assumed the golden circlet to the mitre indicative of temporal sovereignty. Decided that no question could be decided without the consent of the Roman pontiff; that Rome is the rule of faith and the "source of absolution," and that the "judgment of Rome is the voice of God." Opposed divorce, and made K. Lothaire take back his queen, Teutberga, who had submitted to the ordeal of boiling water in order to prove her innocence. Nicholas excommunicated the Bps. of Trèves and Cologne for permitting the divorce; also the Bp. of Ravenna for insubordination, the Greek patriarch Photius, and the Emperor Michael. Rothald, Bp. of Soissons, was deposed by Hincmar, Abp. of Rheims. The deposed bishop appealed to the Pope, but Hincmar refused to recognise his authority. Nicholas entrenched himself behind the Pseudo-Isidore decretals.

867. HADRIAN II., a Roman, and son of a bp., was styled "Evangelical Lord Pope." Hincmar still opposed to the pretensions of the Papacy.

872. JOHN VIII. An intriguing prelate. Excommunicated Anspert, Abp. of Milan, for "insubordination. Asserted that obedience was due to him from all princes, and that he had the right to excommunicate them" (*Barrow*). John is said to have poisoned himself in 882. He approved of the vulgar tongue in divine service.

882—884. MARTIN II. A Frenchman. The first Pope who before his elevation was actually made a bp. Asserted right to Bulgarian provinces as part of Roman See. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, refused to restore them, and was excommunicated a second time.

884. HADRIAN III. A Roman. Decreed that no emperor from beyond the Alps should be crowned henceforward at Rome. The decision caused eighty years' anarchy and confusion.

885. STEPHEN VI. A cardinal priest. Sprinkled the land with holy water to allay a plague of locusts.

891. FORMOSUS. Had been excommunicated by John VIII. when Bp. of Porto. "All the wars of this period were principally caused by the popes; and all the barbarians that devastated that beautiful country of Italy were called thither by the Popes" (*Macchiavelli*).

The corpse of Formosus was exhumed by Stephen VII. and all his official acts annulled.

896. BONIFACE VI. A Tuscan. Died a few days after his election.

896. STEPHEN VII. A Roman. Made Bp. of Anagni by Formosus, whose body he ordered to be thrown into the Tiber.

897. ROMANUS. A Roman of "narrow soul," who rescinded all the acts of Stephen. Occupied the chair for a few months only.

898. THEODORE II. A Roman. Died within a month.

898. JOHN IX. A Roman, who "damned all Stephen had done." Restored decrees of Formosus, and ordered re-ordination of clergy whom he had ordained.

900. BENEDICT IV. A Roman, who "in a debauched age carried himself with constancy and gravity."

903. LEO V., after reigning forty days, was cast into prison by Christopher, his chaplain, who succeeded him.

903. CHRISTOPHER. Deposed within eight months and forced into a monastery.

904. SERGIUS III. A Roman. Imprisoned his predecessor. Abrogated acts of Formosus. Beheaded his corpse, and threw it into the Tiber (a second time). Fiery dragons, etc., seen in the heavens. Sergius was the paramour of the Marchioness Marozia. The offspring of this adulterous alliance became Pope John XI.

911. ANASTASIUS III. "A mild and moderate prelate" (*Frodoardus*). "Nothing chargeable upon him that is blameworthy" (*Platina*).

913. LANDO. Died within six months.

914. JOHN X. Natural son of Pope Sergius. Abp. of Ravenna. Put Alberic, husband of Marozia, to death. John was a lover of Theodora, an intriguing Roman, whose daughter, Marozia, is said to have suffocated the Pope with a cushion. "In the pontificate of John X. and those of his immediate successors, the Roman Church was at the mercy of a band of unprincipled females."

928. LEO VI. A Roman of good report in a corrupt age. Perished in a dungeon within seven months of his election.

929. STEPHEN VIII. A creature of the infamous Marozia. Reigned two years.

931. JOHN XI. Son of Sergius III. and Marozia. D. 936.

936. LEO VII. A Roman monk. Wrote to Gallican bps. against marriage of clergy.

939. STEPHEN IX. A German. Obnoxious to the Romans, and "mutilated" by them.

942. MARTIN III. (II). A "meek and peaceable Roman."

946. AGAPETUS II. "A harmless man and lover of the Church."

955. JOHN XII. Son of Alberic. Nominated himself Pope at age of seventeen. So notoriously licentious that female pilgrims dared not visit Rome. He was deposed by Otho, at the solicitation of a council, on the charges of sacrilege, simony, incest, murder, blasphemy, and cruel mutilation. He deprived John, a cardinal deacon, of his right hand. Cut off the nose of Azzo, keeper of the Archives, and scourged the Bp. of Spire. Some writers allege that John was caught in the act of adultery and stabbed.

963. BENEDICT V., surnamed GRAMMATICUS. Elected by the people. Emperor Otho put Leo into his place and degraded Benedict, whom he compelled to say "*Peccavi si quid peccavi, miserimini mihi.*" Benedict was kept in confinement at Hamburg under Bp. Adalag, until he died.

963. LEO VIII. A layman, and Otho's chief secretary. Driven from Rome by infuriated populace at the instigation of John the deposed pontiff. Otho exiled the consuls, hanged the tribunes, and scourged the prefects.

965. JOHN XIII., surnamed "Gallina Bianca," on account of his white hair. Bp. of Narni. Deposed and banished to Capua. Restored by Otho. Church of Grado erected into a metropolitan see of the entire Republic of Venice, 967. Otho restored territory to the Roman See. Pope was accused by Emp. Nicephorus Phocas of abetting Otho in wresting Southern Italy from the Greek emperors.

972. BENEDICT VI. A Roman. Nominated by Otho, but murdered by the Romans, headed by the female faction.

974. BONIFACE VII. A cardinal deacon. Seized the Papacy on the death of Benedict. Fled with the treasures of the Church to Constantinople; afterwards appeared in Rome, and ordered John XIV. to be starved to death. Boniface died of apoplexy, 984. His body was dragged through the city, and left unburied before the statue of Marcus Aurelius.

974. DONUS II. A man "never charged with any injustice or dishonourable action." Said to have succeeded for a few days only.

975. BENEDICT VII. Bp. of Sutri. Excommunicated Boniface VII. "Horrendum monstrum, cunctos mortales nequitia superans" (*Baronius*).

983. JOHN XIV. Bp. of Pavia, and arch-chancellor to Otho II. Boniface VII. returned from Constantinople (*l*).

985. JOHN XV. Son of a Roman priest. Nominated by Otho III. Enriched his relatives out of the Church treasures. Exiled by the Romans, recalled, and governed for eleven years. Said to be the first Pope to issue diploma for canonisation (cf. Udalric, Bp. of Augsburg, 993). The letter is now said to be a forgery. It is also claimed that Leo III. first formally canonised S. Suibert in 804.

996. GREGORY V. (BRUNO). A Saxon. Kinsman of Otho III. Expelled from Rome. John Philogathus, a Greek bp. (sometimes styled John XVI.), was placed in the papal chair by Crescens, and promised to exercise spiritual functions only. When Otho III. appeared before Rome in 998, John fled in disguise, was detected, taken back to the city, and deprived of his eyes, nose, and tongue, and placed on an ass with his face to the tail. Arnulf, Abp. of Milan, was forbidden to retain title of Pope. Excommunicated K. Robert of France for an uncanonical marriage. Gregory was grossly corrupt. D. under suspicious circumstances, 999.

999. SILVESTER II. A Frenchman (Gerbert) of unimpeachable morals, great learning, and real piety. Invented an organ to work by steam, and constructed a chronometer. Was Abbot of Bobbio and Abp. of Rheims and Ravenna. Made Stephen, K. of Hungary, legate, and later popes claimed his country as a fief of the Holy See. D. 1003.

1003. JOHN XVI. (or XVII) (SECCO). Nothing is known of him.

1003. JOHN XVII. (or XVIII.) (FASANO).

1009. SERGIUS IV. (PETER), erroneously called Swinesmouth (see I. Sergius II.). Sergius IV. asserted that "the Pope could not be damned; do what he would, he must be saved."

1012. BENEDICT VIII. (THEOPHYLACT). Henry II. confirmed the sovereignty of Rome to the Pope and the exarchate of Ravenna. Defeated the Saracens in Tuscany. Recommended clerical marriage to be discontinued.

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